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HUMAN PROBLEMS IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

XV

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Editors
J. CLYDE MITCHELL
ELIZABETH COLSON and MAX GLUCKMAN

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Contributors to this Issue

W. Watson D.F.C., B.A., M.Sc. (Cantab), joined the staff of the Institute in October 1951. Before this he was engaged in a study of the social factors in the socialization of children in a Scottish coal mining community. A book embodying the results of this research is about to be published. Mr. Watson visited the Kaonde on a short field training trip before going to Abercorn, where he is now making a study of the Mambwe and the Lungu peoples.

David Niddrie M.Sc.(S.A.), served in the Royal Navy as a Meteorological Officer. He was in charge of meteorological organization and research in the Falkland Islands and Antarctic Dependencies from 1945 to 1947. On his return to South Africa he was appointed lecturer in geography at he University of Natal. In 1951 he took up an appointment on the staff of the School of Geography, University of Manchester. Mr. Niddrie has published on African climate and prehistory. He is mainly interested in the regional geography of British Central and South Africa. Recently he was engaged in revising sections of the chapter on Transport and Communications for a new edition of Lord Hailey's *African Survey*.

THE KAONDE VILLAGE

by

W. WATSON

Introductory Note

THIS account of the Kaonde village is based on a field study undertaken in May 1952 by Mr. Van Velsen and myself on appointment as Research Officers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.

Our intention was to discover whether or not the Kaonde villages were similar in structure to those of the Mwinilunga Lunda, which our fellow Research Officer, Mr. Turner, had found to be marked by a division into two distinct sections, comprised of the members of proximate generations.[1] The Kaonde and the Mwinilunga Lunda are ethnically akin and possess many characteristics in common.

Our primary instrument of investigation was the genealogy. We also used a census form developed by the Institute, which standardized information collected. We spent one week at the village of Chief Kasempa, the senior Kaonde chief, and talked with him and his elders. Chief Kasempa called a special meeting at which we discussed with the Kaonde some points of their history and connexion with the Lunda. We also visited some villages near Kasempa, and took a census. Thereafter Mr. Van Velsen and I separated and each took a different group of villages in which to work. These villages were chosen primarily because they were accessible. We had no time to make any attempt at random sampling, and even if we had, we would not have been able to pursue it, for an outbreak of sleeping sickness had closed certain areas to us. We numbered the huts in each village in the presence of the headman and recorded the names of the occupants; each individual was then questioned separately, and details of his or her genealogy, marital history, etc., written down. We also attempted to trace the whereabouts of individuals occurring in the genealogies but not living in the villages.

When we made our visit, the Kaonde were living in temporary huts near their gardens, and not in their villages. This dispersion made our task more arduous, for we had to seek out individuals in their gardens, often many miles from the village and each other. In addition, our interpreters were unaccustomed to the work, neither

[1] Mr. Turner presented an analysis of Lunda villages in which he developed this idea in an address to the Royal Anthropological Institute on 19th February 1953. This is to be published shortly.

having previously acted as an interpreter. Both were schoolmasters from the school at Chief Kasempa's village.

We spent exactly eighteen days among the Kaonde. In all, eighteen villages were studied, in three groups: first, a few in the neighbourhood of Kasempa, and second, two groups of villages about twelve miles apart some thirty-five miles from Kasempa. In these two groups Mr. Van Velsen and I worked independently. Unfortunately, the notes that Mr. Van Velsen then made were stolen some time after he left the Kaonde, and accordingly much valuable material was lost.

In the area in which I worked alone there were seven villages. Five of these had headmen of the *Chowa* (Mushroom) clan; the other two were *Yanga* (Black Ant) clan. The five *Chowa* villages recognized the headman of the largest village, Kiboko, as their senior, and he was treated as a chief, although not recognized as such by Government. The *Chowa* clan is that of the Kasempa chiefs, the senior of all Kaonde chiefs; Kiboko had a claim to succeed. Four of these *Chowa* villages formed a lineage group, tracing descent from a common ancestress (see Fig. 11). The two *Yanga* headmen also claimed descent from a common ancestress.

This analysis of the Kaonde village is therefore based on my study of these seven villages, in all of which I obtained full information in terms of the census, together with less-complete information from three other villages. In view of the limited material, therefore, any conclusions arrived at here must be regarded as tentative.

I

The Kaonde live in the North-West Province of Northern Rhodesia. Their country therefore lies to the extreme north-west of the territory, with the Belgian Congo to the north, Portuguese Angola to the west, and Barotseland to the south. The sole account of them so far published is to be found in Melland's *Witchbound Africa*.[1] Melland spent eighteen years among the Kaonde, but was essentially an ethnographer and his book lacks any detailed account of the Kaonde village of his time, although full of interesting material about the peoples' beliefs concerning spirits and sorcery. Melland's main interest lay in the field of comparative religion.

Dr. Richards classifies the Kaonde with the Lala and Lamba (who live to the east of the Kaonde) together with the swamp-dwelling peoples of the Bangweulu district.[2] She states that all these peoples had a Congo origin, being offshoots of the great Luba tribe which inhabited the Katanga area of the Congo east of the

[1] F. H. Melland, *Witchbound Africa*. Seeley, Service & Co., London (1923).
[2] A. I. Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*. Oxford University Press, London (1939), p. 16.

Kasai river and invaded the area now known as Northern Rhodesia some 300 years ago. The Bemba were the first to arrive. Apparently the Bisa and Lunda were also of this Luban stock. All these peoples have certain features in common. Their languages are sufficiently alike for them to be grouped together. They are all predominantly agricultural as are the kindred peoples of the Congo. Descent, clan affiliation and succession to office follow the matrilineal line, and marriage is uxorilocal with service performed by the bridegroom for his father-in-law as the essential element in the marriage contract, not the transfer of goods. Associated with the marriage rites are girls' initiation ceremonies; there is no corresponding ritual for boys. All these peoples—Bemba, Bisa, Lunda, Lala, Lamba, Kaonde—recognize themselves as being closely akin, and many of their clan names are distributed widely over the whole area.

The Kaonde appear to have had a closer connexion with the Lunda than with any of these other Luban peoples, for they have a tradition that before the first Kaonde chief, Nkonde, came to the present Kaonde territory he was given an armlet and headdress, the insignia of his chieftainship, and the title of Kiboko by Mwatiyamvwa, the Lunda paramount chief. In addition, we were told that Nkonde gave elephant tusks to Mwatiyamvwa, and there were other indications that at one time the Kaonde paid tribute to the Lunda chiefs. Later, the Kaonde were involved in a struggle with the Lozi kings and paid tribute to them.

Politically the Kaonde today are organized under a number of territorial chiefs, one of whom, Kasempa, is recognized as the senior. I am unable to give any account of the relationships of these territorial chiefs one to the other, nor can I say what are the political offices and organization within each chieftaincy. Chief Kasempa was a member of the *Chowa* clan, and this clan had held his chieftaincy since the founding chief, Nkonde, received the title of Kiboko from Mwatiyamvwa. Not all of the other territorial chiefs were of this clan, however. At the meeting of headmen and elders held in Kasempa which we attended, there were thirty-two Kaonde present, and these belonged to the following clans:

Clans of Elders and Headmen	*Number*
Chowa (Mushroom)	20
Kiura (Frog)	3
Benangi (Leopard)	3
Samba (Snake)	3
Ng'onyi (Honeybird)	2
Tembuszi (Elephant)	1

Whether this predominance in numbers of *Chowa* clansmen reflected their political dominance throughout the chieftaincy I cannot tell. These men were called by order of the chief to assist

in establishing his own line of descent, and by inference, his right to rule. He may have selected *Chowa* clansmen for this reason. I must therefore leave the question of political relationships with this brief note.

The Kaonde trace descent in the matrilineal line, in common with those other Central African peoples—Bemba, Bisa, Lamba, Lala, Cewa, Luba—already mentioned. A man takes the clan of his mother and traces back his ancestors on his mother's side. No exact count of the number of clans was possible, but we recorded more than twenty, and undoubtedly there are many more.[1] Within the clan the Kaonde recognize distinct and separate family lines or lineage groups. Each lineage group traces descent in the matrilineal line from a common great-grandmother, although chiefs can trace descent much further back. Chief Kasempa was able to recount his descent from an ancestress seven generations back. These matrilineal clans are in effect exogamous units, for marriage is forbidden between people bearing the same clan name.

Succession is also matrilineal and passes first to the dead man's brothers and then to his sister's sons; thereafter it passes to the children of his sister's daughters. This ideal pattern is modified in practice, however. Other factors, such as character, age and availability, also seem to affect succession, particularly when a chieftaincy is concerned. For example, headman Kiboko[2] had succeeded although Pasera was genealogically senior to him. Pasera was only a few years younger than Kiboko, who was fifty-three. In Pasera's presence I was told that he was not fit to be Kiboko, he was " too stupid ". In this example the selection of one man rather than another may have been affected by the importance of the title Kiboko and its associated claim to the chieftaincy. In another village, headman Kafuchilwa was an old man in his dotage; however, he was still recognized as headman, although his younger brother acted in his place and spoke for him. But this brother did not call himself headman, nor was he so addressed by the villagers. It appears, then, that in matters of succession, selection is made between a number of potential heirs, and the most suitable man succeeds.

[1] According to Dr. Richards, there are sixty-two Kaonde clans. See " Some Types of Family Structure amongst the Central Bantu ", *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, ed. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde. Oxford University Press (1950), p. 243, n. 2.

[2] This headman held the title originally given to the first Kaonde chief, Nkonde. Nowadays the senior Kaonde chief is Kasempa, but Kiboko maintained that his line of descent was senior and that he had a right to the chieftainship. He was regarded as a chief by the group of villages (whatever the clan of their headmen) in the neighbourhood and some of the headmen were related directly to him.

II

Kaonde villages are to be found in clearings in thick forest country, undulating and featureless. Each village is walled in by trees and an adjacent village, perhaps only a few yards away, can be quite invisible. The rainfall averages about 50 inches a year and the seasons follow the customary Central African cycle of wet season, November to March, cold season, March to July, and dry season, July to October. The population is sparse,[1] for the Kaonde face a considerable problem in the matter of water supply, despite the rainfall. The rivers are few and as a consequence villages tend to cluster near a dependable source of water. As one travels through the country, large tracts are found to be uninhabited, to be succeeded by strings of villages crowding together near the available water. In the second area in which I worked I found all seven villages grouped together, some within a few yards of each other, and none more than five miles apart.

The Kaonde practise a form of shifting cultivation, and prepare their gardens by cutting down the trees over an area and piling the trunks and branches in the cleared space. They set fire to the piled timber just before the rainy season, and plant in the ash. A sub-chief told me that the Kaonde have so much forest available that they never cut gardens twice in the same place. They are therefore in a happier position than such a kindred people as the Lala, for example, who have a similar form of cultivation but are forced to return to old gardens in a much shorter period than the twenty years needed for regeneration of the woodland.[2] As this type of garden can be worked for only a few years, their system

[1] Population estimates vary. J. Moffat Thomson gives the total Kaonde population in 1934 as 37,952, and the density in three districts in that year as:

Solwezi	1·91 per square mile
Kasempa	1·25 „ „ „
Mumbwa	2·65 „ „ „

(*Memorandum on Native Tribal Areas of Northern Rhodesia*. Government Printer, Livingstone, 1934.)

W. Whitcley gives the following for 1951:

Solwezi	2·3 per square mile
Kasempa	2·0 „ „ „
Mumbwa	3·2 „ „ „

("The Bemba and Related Peoples of Northern Rhodesia", *Ethnographic Survey of Africa*, ed. Daryll Forde. International African Institute, London [1951], p. 65.)

Regarding Kasempa district in which we worked, an official report states: "Kasempa, which is, it is believed, the largest district in the Territory, has also one of the smallest populations, and its area of approximately 15,000 square miles gives a density of only about 1·5 to the square mile."—*Northern Rhodesia African Affairs. Annual Report for the year 1951*. Government Printer, Lusaka (1952), p. 101.

[2] For a description of this system among the Lala see D. U. Peters, *Land Usage in Serenje District*. Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 19. Oxford University Press, Cape Town (1950).

of cultivation forces the Kaonde to move their gardens further and further from their villages, so that after a few years they find it necessary to build a new village near the current garden. Thus the Kaonde village is constantly changing its site.

The principal crop is Kaffir corn (Sorghum). Red millet, maize, sweet potatoes, groundnuts, beans, lentils, pumpkins, cucumbers and tomatoes are also cultivated. Immediately before the corn ripens the people move from their villages into the fields, where they live in temporary grass huts. Here they are much better able to protect the ripening grain from the birds and prepare for the harvest.

III

The disposition of huts within the village is varied, most villages being laid out in either a rough circle or rectangle. The two largest villages I visited were laid out on the rectangular plan. All the huts faced inwards. The rectangle was oriented north and south, the headman's hut being on the north side, looking down the length of the village (see Kiboko Village Plan, Fig. 3). However, in another large village (also rectangular in plan) the headman's hut was on the southern side. There were no fences or walls enclosing the huts. Every village had a *kiasanza* (" the place where we sit "), an open-sided thatched enclosure, circular in shape, for public use ; generally this was situated near the headman's hut. In the larger villages there were two of these *kiasanza*. I will return later to the significance and use of these structures. In many villages the headman and other important men each had his own private *kiasanza*, smaller than the public buildings, where they sometimes ate their meals.[1] Kitchens, storehuts and dovecots are all sited behind the living huts. The kitchens and storehuts are used by children as sleeping quarters. Some huts are unoccupied and belong to persons working away or visiting. In several villages I found huts in various stages of construction ; most of these were being erected by men who were not members of the village in anticipation of marriage to girls living in the village. Two of these can be seen together in Jango village (see Jango Village Plan, Fig. 1, Huts 5 and 6). Some unoccupied huts were completely dilapidated. The majority of the huts were rectangular, made of pole and daub, and few of them had windows. Where there were windows, they were small, about 6 inches in diameter. The absence of windows is related to the nature of Kaonde witchcraft beliefs. There was a total of 111 huts in the

[1] Men eat by themselves, and never share a meal with a woman. I was told that the headman usually ate alone. A man may invite his brothers or his sisters' husbands to eat with him, but never his sons or nephews.

ten villages I visited, the smallest having four huts and the largest twenty-one. The distribution of huts over the villages is shown in Table I.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF HUTS IN VILLAGES

Huts in village	4	5	6	8	12	13	14	15	21
Number of villages	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1

We did not have time to make any study of the siting of garden huts.

IV

Each village forms a discrete social group, distinguished by the name of the village. This name is that of the headman, and on succession, a new headman takes the name of the village from his predecessor. Each of the villages I visited acknowledged the rule of a single male headman, who had succeeded in the uterine line.

When a new village is formed the man who is to be headman takes a new name and thereafter the village is known by this name. Thus the name of a village persists in time, although the village itself can and does move in space as the gardens are moved ; the actual personnel and their relationships are also constantly changing. The village can split and part of it hive off to form an independent village under its own headman. A Kaonde village may therefore be defined as a local residential group whose members claim a genealogical relationship with one man, usually the headman.[1] In this the Kaonde resemble many other Central African peoples.[2]

The core of a village consists of a headman ; his wife or wives and children ; his sisters, both single and married, and the husbands of the married ones, together with their sons and daughters ; and where the daughters are also married, their husbands and children too. Because marriage is uxorilocal (at least initially) the women of the headman's matrilineage group form the residential group and the male siblings are dispersed. I give below an example of a simple village, Jango (see Figs. 1 and 2). Fig. 1 is the hut plan of the village, and Fig. 2 the genealogy. The huts are numbered and correspond to the persons in the genealogy. In these and all subsequent figures, Hut 1 is that of the headman. Children have been omitted.

[1] Cf. J. C. Mitchell and J. A. Barnes, *The Lamba Village : Report of a Social Survey*. Communications from the School of African Studies, New Series No. 24, University of Cape Town (1950).

[2] Cf. M. Gluckman, J. C. Mitchell, and J. A. Barnes, " The Village Headman in British Central Africa ", *Africa*, Vol. XIX (1949), p. 89.

FIG. 1.—JANGO VILLAGE PLAN.

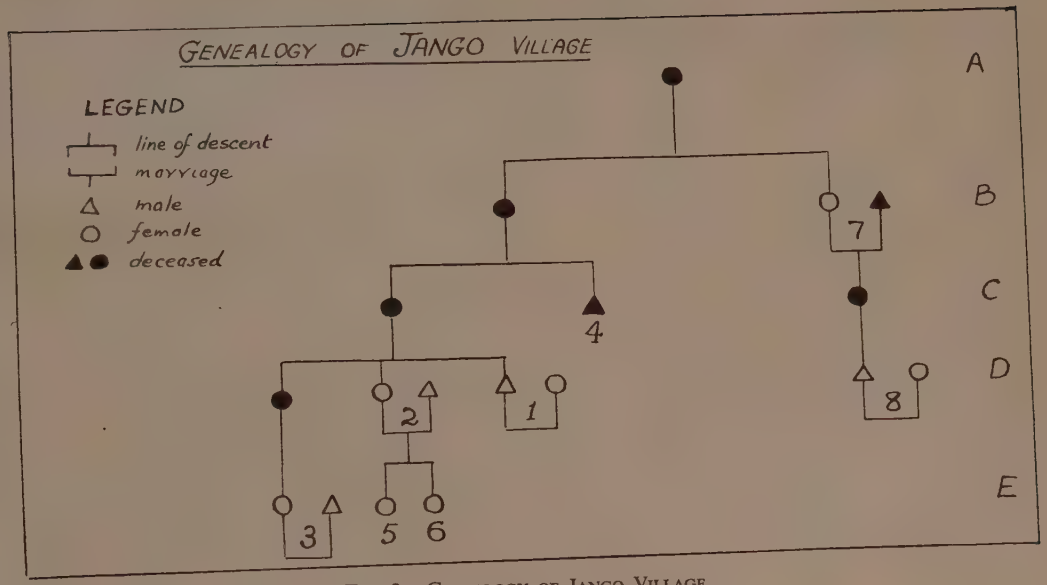

FIG. 2.—GENEALOGY OF JANGO VILLAGE.

The headman is D1 on the genealogy (Fig. 2). He had only just succeeded when I visited the village, his predecessor being his mother's brother (C4). The new headman's own name had been Muremeka ; he took the name Jango on succession. This village was therefore composed of the following kin :

Headman and his wife	D1
Headman's sister and her husband . . .	D2
Headman's sister's two unwedded daughters .	E5 and E6
(Huts 5 and 6 were being built for these by two men from other villages in anticipation of marriage.)	
Headman's deceased sister's married daughter .	E3
Headman's mother's mother's sister . . .	B7
This woman's grandson	D8

D8 was living matrilocally. He was a potential heir of the new headman.

This village comprised a spread of four generations. Most of the villages I visited had shallow lineages, few tracing descent beyond the grandmother's generation. But some of the villages were linked through the headman into a wider lineage,[1] which is shown in Fig. 11 p. 27.

However, although the core (and perhaps the genesis) of a Kaonde village lies with a group of sisters and their brother who acts as headman, together with persons linked affinally, most villages are in fact composed of other relatives in addition. There may be one or more of the headman's brothers (either primary or classificatory) living in the village, together with their wives and children. Moreover, married uterine nephews of the headman may return to his village, bringing their wives with them, after having lived for a time in their wives' villages. A variety of such relatives lived in Kiboko village (see Figs. 3 and 4). Married sons may also return to live in their father's village after a period of uxorilocal residence, as well as the married sons of the headman's brothers.

Kiboko (D1) had inherited both the headmanship and the title of Kiboko from his mother's mother's brother (not shown in the genealogy). It will be seen at once from this genealogy that there are a number of male relatives living in the village. All claim descent from a common ancestress. But in fact there are four distinct descent groups, each consisting of full brothers and sisters and their offspring. These groups are :

GROUP 1

Headman's mother	C7
Headman and wives	D1 and D2
Headman's brother and wife	D4

[1] This wider lineage does not imply a corporate lineage, for I did not find that they expressed their corporateness, either in secular or ritual activities, as against other kind of kinsmen. For a full discussion of this subject in relation to Central African kinship systems, see the Introduction by M. Gluckman to *The Lamba Village*.

Headman's mother's sister	C9
Two sons (and wives of one)	D3, D16 and D18
One daughter and husband	D21
Son's unwedded son	E8
Descended from the headman's mother's deceased sister:	
One son and wife	D17
Deceased daughter's unwedded daughter	E9

GROUP 2

Descended from the headman's mother's mother's deceased sister:	
Two sons and their wives	C10 and C11
Deceased daughters' married daughters	D19 and D20

GROUP 3

Descended from the headman's mother's mother's deceased sister:	
One son and his wives	C13 and C14
Divorced daughter	C12
Son's married son	D5

GROUP 4

Descended from the headman's mother's mother's deceased sister:	
One son and wife	C15
Two widowed daughters	C6 and C9
One daughter's married daughter	D5

(Groups 3 and 4 linked through marriage, D5.)

I have insufficient evidence on the splitting of villages and the formation of new villages to be certain on this point, but I consider that these groups are all potential new villages and that they represent the lines of cleavage along which a split might be expected. The members of either Group 2, 3 or 4 could break away from Kiboko and form a village of their own, for each represents the core of a village. Each would be headed by the senior brother of the group. Indeed, one such split did occur in 1949, and it was a group composed precisely like these which broke off to form a new village, Pasera. I will return to this group later.

Thus the composition of a Kaonde village can range from a simple village in which all the women are of the headman's matrilineage, through various combinations of people, to a village made up entirely of matrilineages other than the headman's, and linked to him through his wife, or even through his brother's wife. Mr. Van Velsen found an example of the latter form of organization, but unfortunately the details are no longer available.

This variety of organization is due to the constant movement of Kaonde through different villages, and I wish now to turn to another element in Kaonde village organization which I believe has an effect on the choice of village in which a man resides.

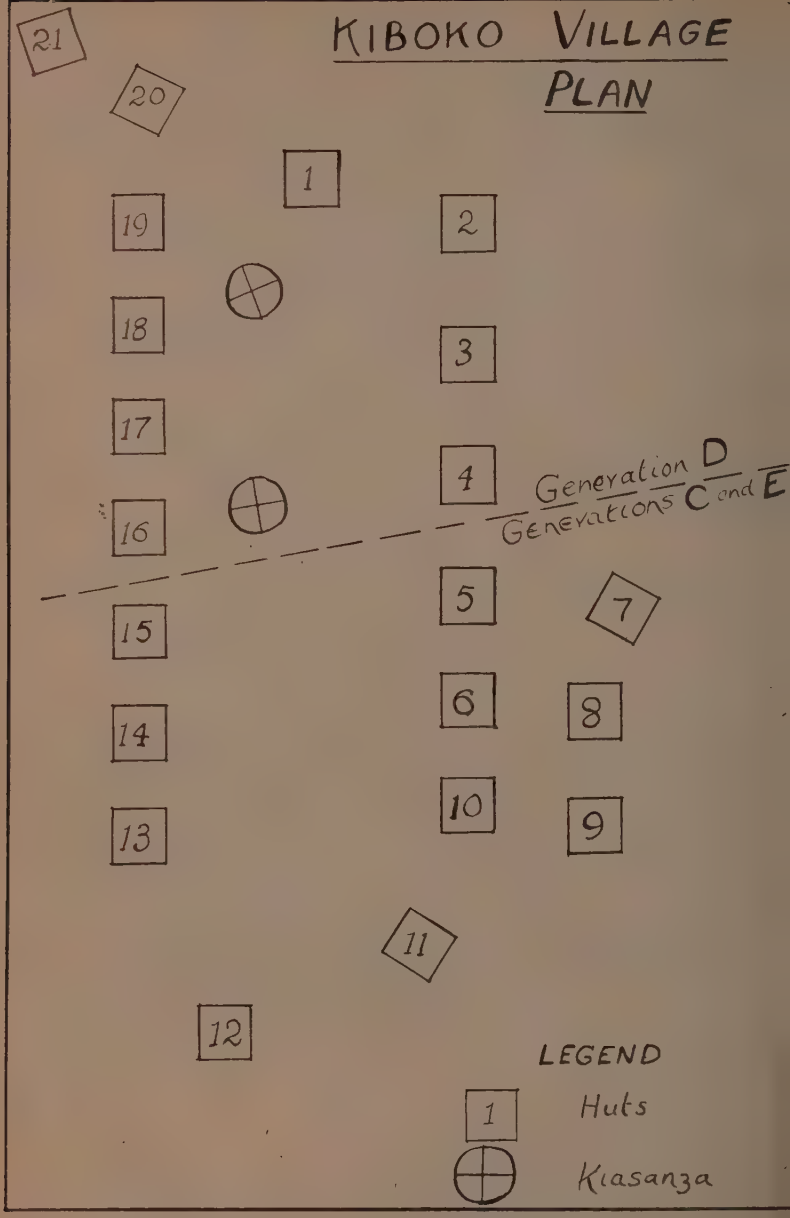

FIG. 3.—KIBOKO VILLAGE PLAN.

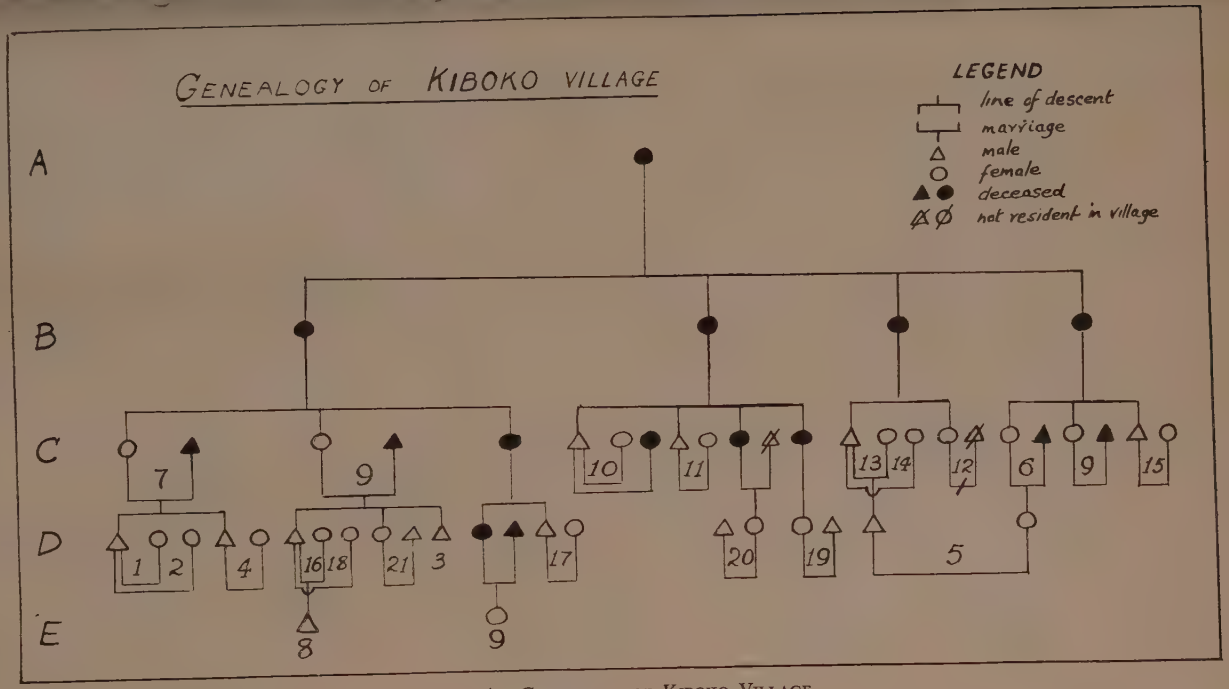

FIG. 4.—GENEALOGY OF KIBOKO VILLAGE.

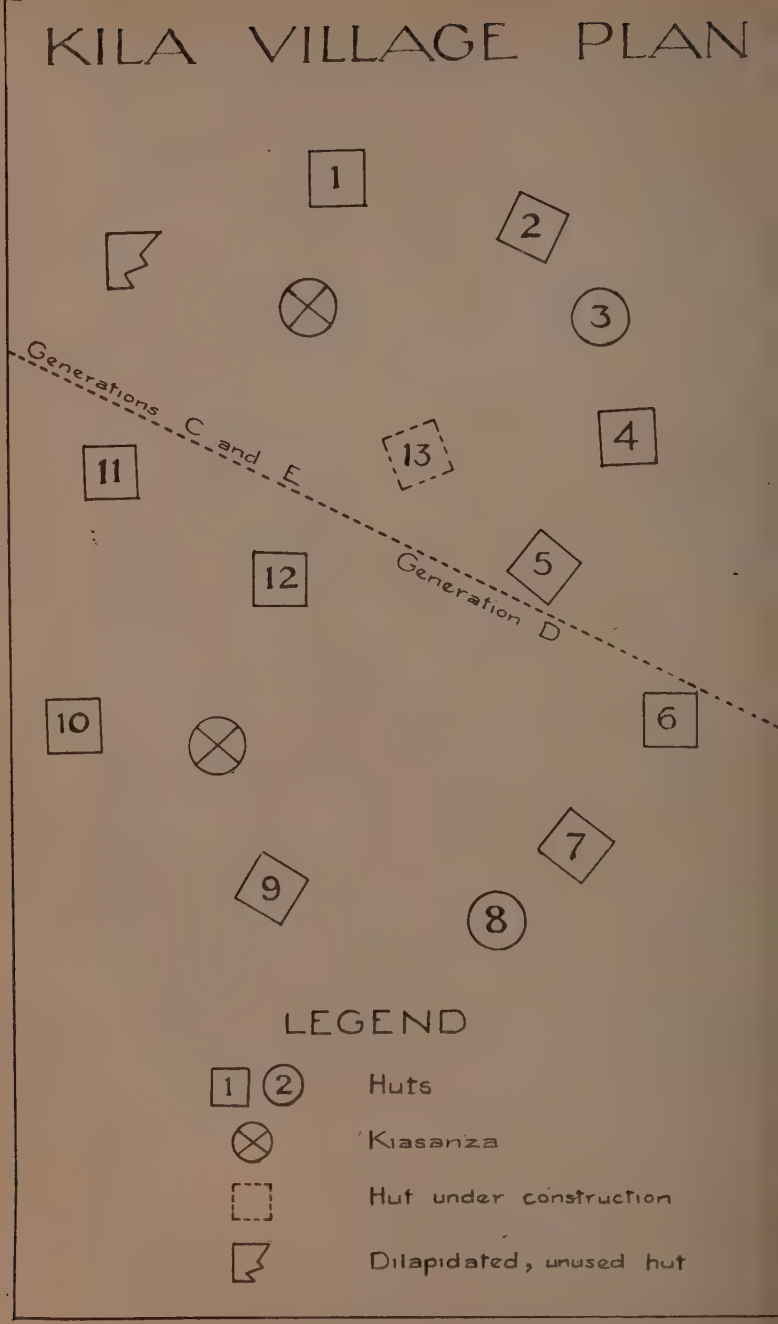

FIG. 5.—KILA VILLAGE PLAN.

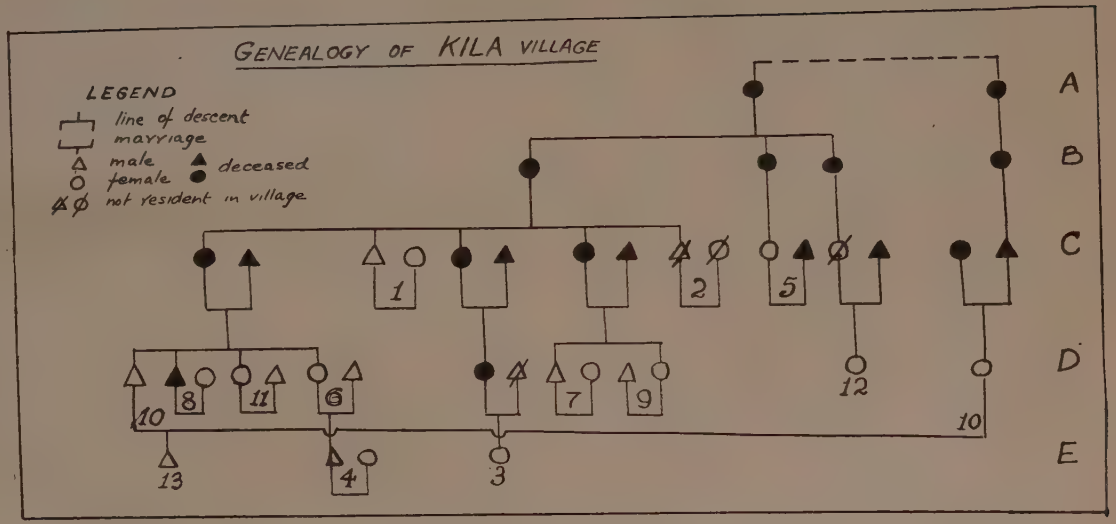

FIG. 6.—GENEALOGY OF KILA VILLAGE.

V

Every Kaonde village is divided into two sections, or wards, called *mwanza*, one of which is senior to the other. The principle controlling this division is the opposition of proximate generations and the equivalence of alternate generations. Thus the senior section, called *mwanza wa muzi* (the section of the village), is made up of the members of the headman's generation, that is to say, the headman, his sisters and brothers (when these are living in the village) and their spouses. For the purposes of this paper I propose to call this the " effective generation ".[1] The junior section, called *mwanza babanyike* (the section of youth), is composed of the headman's sisters' daughters and sons, together with their spouses, and the headman's brothers' children and their spouses when these are living in his village. The junior section also includes the headman's mother and father and his mother's sisters and brothers and their spouses. The grandchildren of the headman and his sisters and brothers belong to the senior section, that is, the headman's own section. The headman's grandparents also belong to the senior section. Alternate generations are therefore equated, as far as membership of the two sections is concerned. One consequence of this division is that a mother-in-law is always in the opposite section to her son-in-law.

The senior section is invariably that of the headman's generation, irrespective of age. Thus, when a headman dies and is succeeded by his sister's son, the successor's generation becomes the senior and the dead headman's generation reverts to junior. Should the headman be succeeded by his sister's daughter's son (as happened in Kiboko village) the generation of the dead man retains its seniority. If the headman is succeeded by his brother there is also no change. The relationship between generations is therefore determined by which generation holds the headmanship, thereby controlling the senior section, the *mwanza wa muzi*. There is no change in the occupancy of huts on the headman's death. When the successor is a sister's son it means that the " centre of power " in the village is transferred from one section to the other, and the names of the sections reversed. The members of what was formerly the junior section become the effective generation and relegate the members of the dead man's generation to junior status.

Each section, in the larger villages, has its own *kiasanza*, the public building already described. The *kiasanza* of the senior section is that in which cases are heard, public business transacted, and strangers entertained. The members of *mwanza babanyike*, the junior section, cannot enter this *kiasanza*, although they are allowed to gather outside when cases are being heard or beer is being drunk. The headman is in charge of the *kiasanza* of the

[1] A term suggested by Dr. Mitchell.

senior section. In one village, Kila (see Figs. 5 and 6), the headman's appointed heir, called the *swanamumi*, was in charge of the *kiasanza* of the junior section. However, this was the only village encountered where the *swanamumi* had been appointed. I was informed that the *swanamumi* was only appointed and given this form of address when the headman was old and showed a decline in his natural power. Kila was an old sick man, and most of the day-to-day running of the village was in the hands of his *swanamumi*.[1] In those villages which have only one *kiasanza* the division between sections is still maintained, for the *kiasanza* is reserved for the use of the senior section. Members of the junior section must sit outside when business is being transacted or strangers entertained.

The division into sections controls the siting of huts within the village; each section builds separately. This siting of huts by sections is not immediately apparent in the spatial distribution of huts within a village, for a number of reasons. Firstly, the Kaonde do not make the division between the adjacent huts of each section by any kind of boundary fence or open space. Secondly, the number of members in each section is rarely equal, particularly in new or small villages. Thirdly, the division is by genealogical generation and not by actual age; it is therefore possible, and indeed was observed, that the age ranges within each section were similar, and that very young people were living in what proved to be the senior section and old people in the junior section. Lastly, the members of each section mingled freely with each other in the village, and there did not appear to be any hindrance on the members of one section using the space of common village ground on which the huts of the other section were built. However, as the Kaonde were living in temporary garden huts at the time of research, it may well be that there were observable regulations of social intercourse between the members of the two generations which escaped us for this reason. This would seem to be borne out by an incident which occurred to Mr. Van Velsen. While sitting by a fire one evening in the gardens and chatting with the headman, he saw nearby an old woman whom he wished to question. He called to her to join him at the fire, but she refused. On enquiry, she said that she could not sit there in the presence of the headman, who was of her children's generation. She was not his mother-in-law. Further, when we visited villages and spoke to people, we were

[1] I did not pursue this matter sufficiently at the time, and cannot say whether or not the form of address *swanamumi* is given only to an heir from the junior section, or whether an heir from the headman's own section (e.g. a brother) would be given this distinction. Of the headman given in this paper, Jango succeeded from his mother's brother; Kiboko succeeded from his mother's mother's brother; Mukwala and Kila both succeeded from their elder brothers. Pasera was a new village. Of all these, the only one whom I discovered had had the form of address *swanamumi* before succession was Jango. Thus, the term was used by sister's sons in the two instances I recorded. However, it is possible that the others were known as *swanamumi* before succeeding. In Lozi, shwanamumi is nominated heir to a living person.

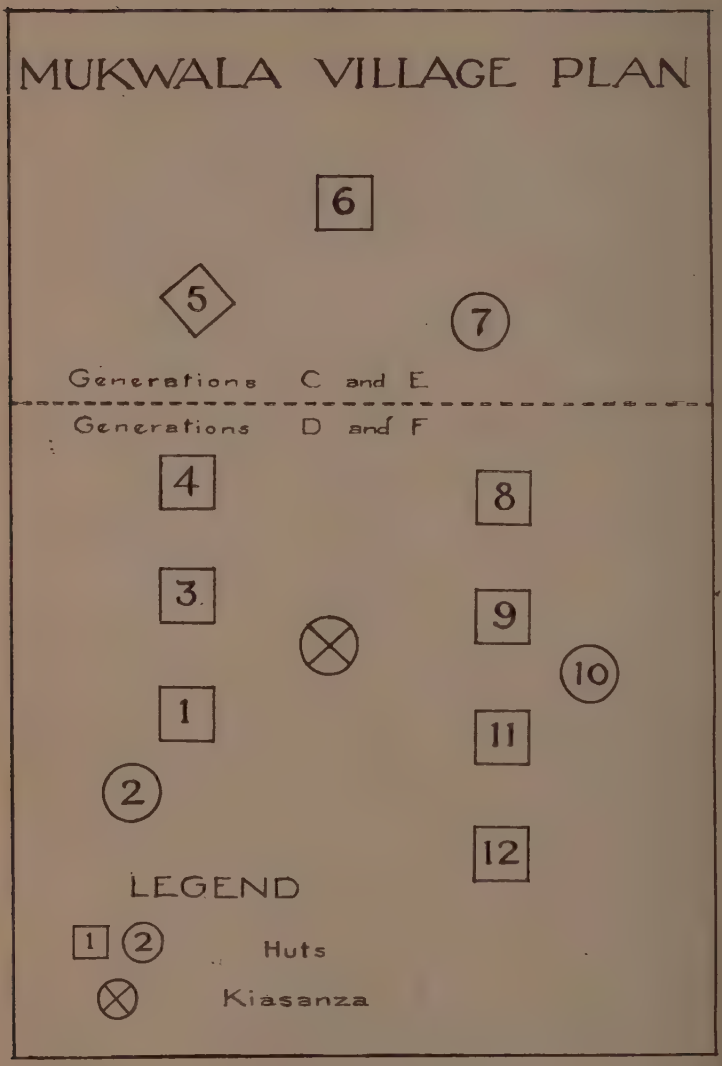

FIG. 7.—MUKWALA VILLAGE PLAN.

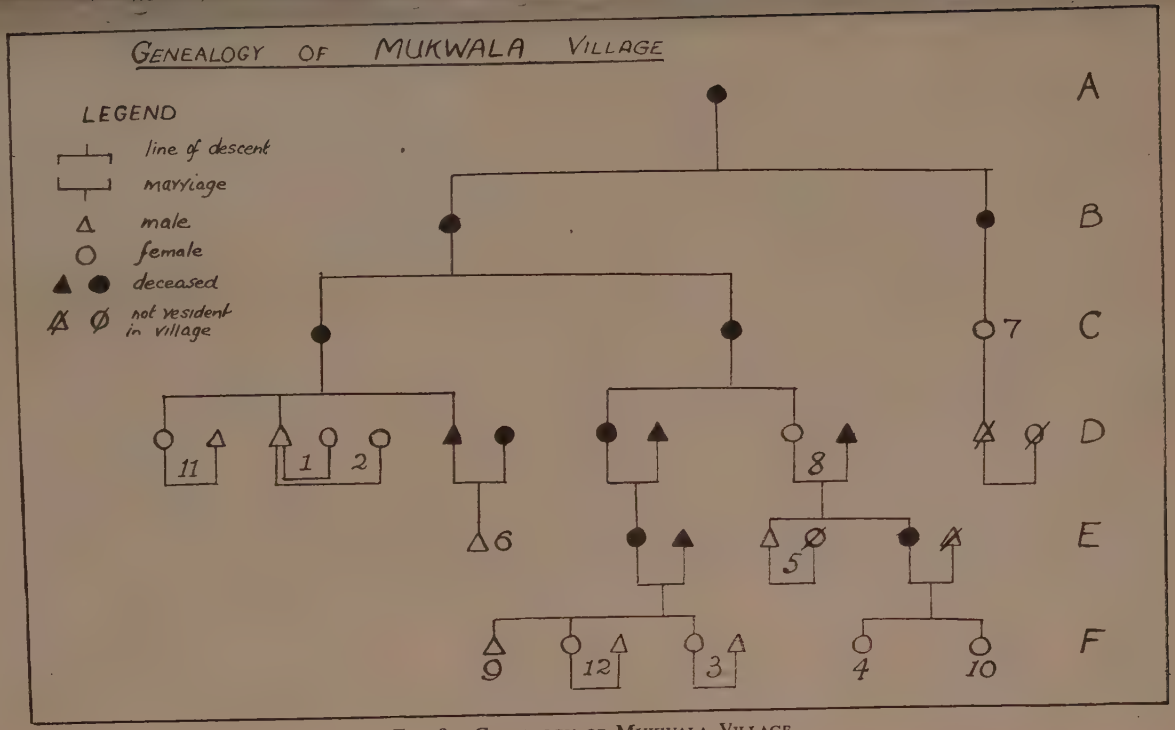

FIG. 8.—GENEALOGY OF MUKWALA VILLAGE.

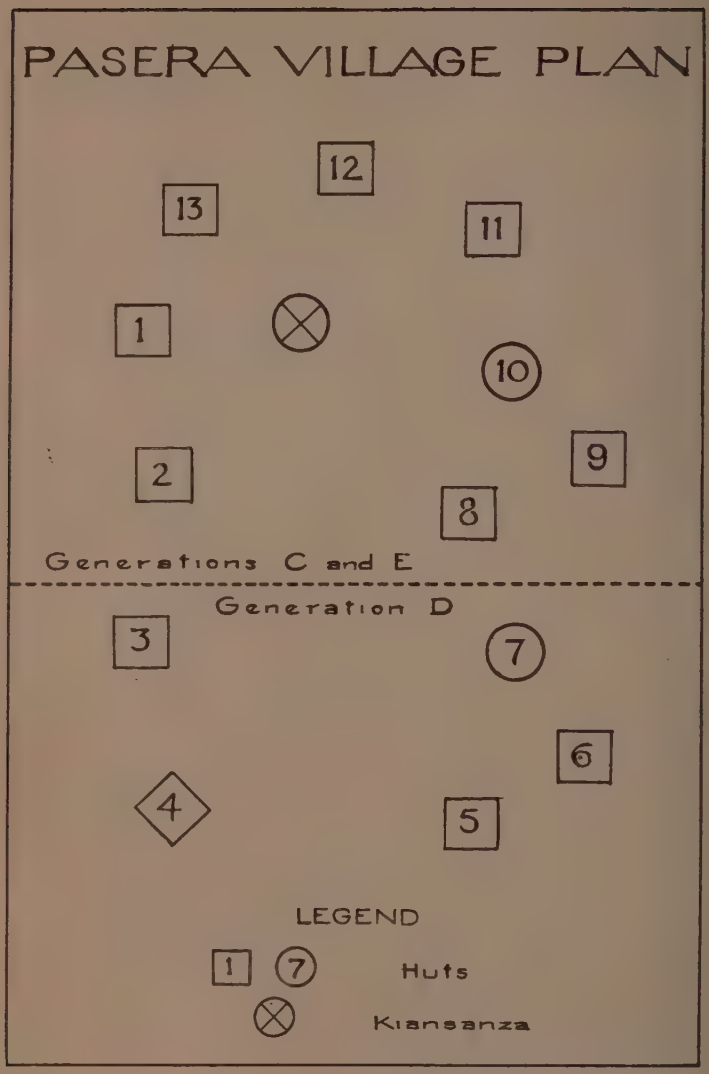

FIG. 9.—PASERA VILLAGE PLAN.

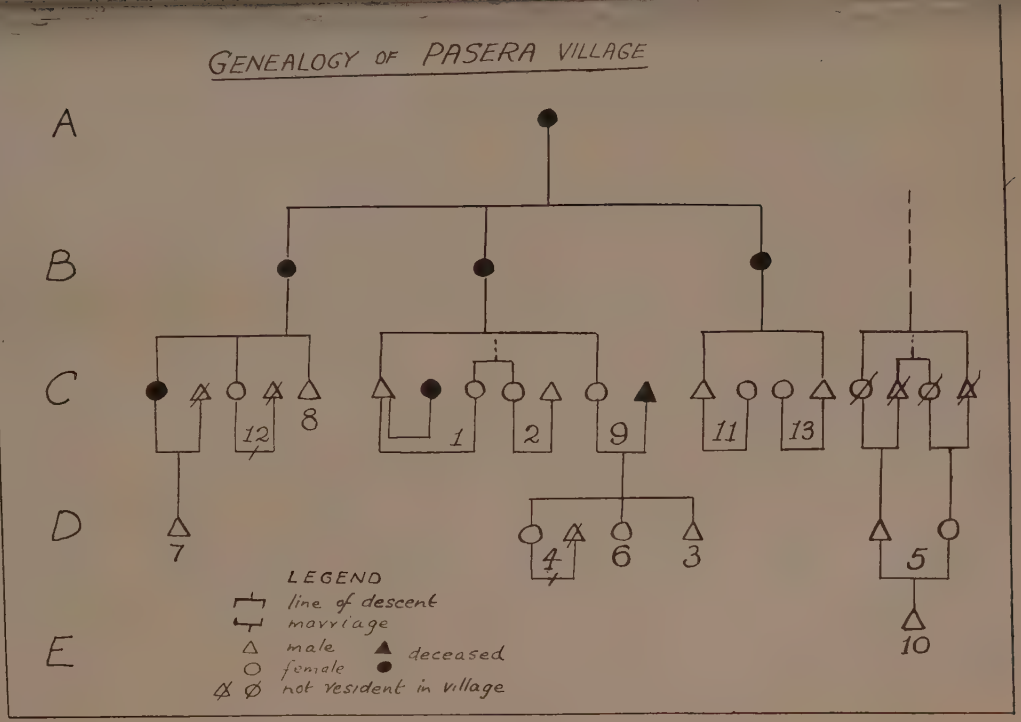

FIG. 10.—GENEALOGY OF PASERA VILLAGE.

always given seats in the *kiasanza*. It was noticeable that some people put their stools just outside the *kiasanza* while others came in and sat beside us. Both groups were of all ages.

Despite the lack of any visible boundary between the sections, each person was well aware of the limits of his or her section. No one built a hut in the wrong section. It is therefore possible to draw a line through each village plan and find that the occupants of huts on either side belong to separate sections. When the huts are numbered and the numbers attached to the occupants in the genealogy of the village, the spatial relationship between the two sections is immediately evident. I have done this in the diagrams given here (Figs. 1 to 10). These diagrams show the village plans and genealogies of five villages. Children have been omitted.

The system emerges most clearly in the diagrams referring to Kila village (see Figs. 5 and 6). Kila was an old man of the *Yanga* (Black Ant) clan, suffering from leprosy, and evidently near his end. His own children were dispersed. His eldest son was the headman of his own village (not in the neighbourhood) and two of Kila's daughters and their husbands had joined this village. The remaining sister was married to a man permanently resident in a Copperbelt town. The other children were dead. Because of his age and infirmity, Kila's heir, the *swanamumi*, had already been appointed; he was Kila's sister's son (D10 on the genealogy, Fig. 6). There were two *kiasanza* in the village; one near Kila's hut and the other near the *swanamumi's* hut; these were used by the senior and junior sections respectively. The day-to-day administration of village affairs was already in the hands of the *swanamumi*, who also acted as priest at a hunting-shrine in the bush only a few yards behind his hut. The unwedded son of the *swanamumi* was building a hut (Hut 13 on the Kila Village Plan, Fig. 5) and had sited it in the senior section (that of his grandfather Kila), to which of course he belonged.

In Kiboko village (Figs. 3 and 4) there were also two *kiasanza*. The headman had succeeded in 1948, and was still healthy and active, so no *swanamumi* had been appointed. In this village the principle of the equivalence of alternate generations and their residential association was well illustrated by the relationships of the occupants of Hut 9. These were three women, two of them widows of the headman's mother's generation and one unwedded girl of the headman's children's generation.

The other two villages illustrated had only one *kiasanza* apiece, but the division into sections was quite clear, both in the spatial arrangement of the huts and in the kinship relations. In Mukwala village (Figs. 7 and 8) there were only three huts in the junior section. These were occupied by an old woman of the headman's mother's generation (C7) and by a brother's son (E6) and a collateral sister's son (E5). This man was a potential heir, although no appointment had yet been made. He had divorced his wife

and returned to his mother's village to live, and, I believe, hoped to inherit the headmanship. In the senior section were the headman, Mukwala, and his two wives (D1 and D2), and his sister and her husband (D11). Also in the senior section were Mukwala's mother's sister's widowed daughter (D8) and her two unwedded granddaughters (F4 and F10). Last of all, his deceased collateral sister's two married granddaughters and unwedded grandson (F3, F12 and F9).

The last village shown, Pasera (Figs. 9 and 10), was a new village, and has been referred to several times previously. It was founded in 1949 when Pasera broke away from Kiboko village and built his own. His name then was Manyuka; he took the new name of Pasera when he founded his own village. Pasera sited his village about 100 yards from Kiboko, from which it was screened by a belt of trees. The nearest huts of Kiboko village were those of the junior section, to which Pasera and his sister had belonged when they lived in Kiboko. Pasera was only a few years younger than Kiboko (who was fifty-three), but was genealogically his senior and addressed him as *mwipwa* (nephew). Kiboko was in fact Pasera's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son (see Fig. 11). Pasera's village was relatively simple in form and composition. It consisted of Pasera as headman and his wife (C1), his widowed sister (C9) and her two daughters, one divorced (D4) and one unwedded (D6), and her unwedded son (D3), Pasera's mother's sister's divorced daughter (C12), her unwedded brother (C8), and the unwedded son of her deceased sister (D7). Pasera's mother's sister's two sons and their wives (C11 and C13) also had huts in the senior section, together with Pasera's wife's sister and her husband (C2). All of these people had built their huts according to their relationship by generation to Pasera. One other man lived in the village (D5), together with his wife and unwedded son (E10). The father was unable to trace his exact genealogical link with Pasera's matrilineage, but said he called Pasera *mwishu* (mother's brother) and he was of the same clan as Pasera. Although he was a man of equal age with Pasera, he built his hut in the junior section while his son built in the senior, thus conforming with the difference in generation.

VI

The constant movement of Kaonde through different villages and the effects of this movement on the structure of the village has been mentioned. The endless shifting of site and rebuilding of villages caused by the need to keep reasonably close to their shifting gardens facilitates such constant movement of population. In his lifetime a Kaonde may live in several villages, in each of which he claims a different relationship to the headman's matrilineage. Although descent is reckoned through the mother, the Kaonde also recognize

their fathers' kin and maintain a warm relationship with them. Each of a Kaonde's four grandparents may belong to a different clan, and as I shall explain, all four of these clans provide him with a potential place of residence, in which he is among kin and can draw on the obligations inherent in such a relationship. However, the Kaonde practise cross-cousin marriage, and indeed these are preferred marriages. Such marriages would therefore reduce the number of clans to which the grandparents belonged to either two or three, depending on the relationship of the spouses. However, as I wish to discuss here the maximum number of choices of residence, I propose to consider the consequences of marriage between non-relatives only. The principle remains the same for cross-cousin marriages, the difference being that the number of places available for residence is consequently reduced.

A Kaonde speaks of his father's village as *benatata* (the people of my father). These people are in fact his father's matrilineage, and the *benatata* is the village on which this matrilineage is centred, that is, his father's mother's village. Sometimes *benatata* may be the village in which a man was born, for apart from cross-cousin marriage, I have described earlier how brothers and sons attach themselves to a village in which their brother is established, and particularly to a village in which he is headman. But more usually his natal village is that of his mother, through the practice of uxorilocal marriage. In his *benatata* a man is linked to a matrilineage of a clan other than his own. Further, a Kaonde uses the word *benankambo* (the people of my grandfather) to define two other villages: those of his maternal and paternal grandfathers. In these two villages he can again claim kinship links with matrilineages of different clans from his own. Thus there are three villages in which he can claim a kinship tie, with its consequent obligations towards him, by reason of his birth.

Through marriage a Kaonde is linked to yet another clan, that of his wife. He describes his wife's village as *benawuko* (relatives-in-law).

However, as far as I was able to ascertain, a Kaonde does not use any special word to describe his mother's village. This is his "own" village, I was told. It remains his own village even when he was born in a village in which his parents were living virilocally. In all of these five villages a man can live with kin, but it is the village on which his mother's matrilineage is centred that he regards as his permanent home, his "own" village. On the death of a mother not living in her own village the children return to the village on which her matrilineage is centred, even though the children are fully grown and have lived all their lives in other villages. I came across many instances of this. For example, none of Pasera's children by his first wife (C1 on Genealogy of Pasera Village, Fig. 10) was living in his village; all had returned to their mother's village when she died.

There is one considerable and important difference between these five villages in which a man can claim relationships: he cannot inherit in any of those distinguished by a special name. He has no rights of inheritance in his father's village (*benatata*), nor in either his maternal or paternal grandfather's village (*benankambo*), and he marries into the village of his wife's kin (*benawuko*). He can expect to inherit only in his " own " village, that is, the village upon which his mother's matrilineage is centred. Further, through the dual division of villages on the basis of generation, a man is identified with his grandparents, and automatically belongs to their section of the village in opposition to his mother and father and their siblings. When he pays a visit to his grandparents, he must be entertained in their section. Whether this will be the senior or the junior section of the village will depend, of course, on what particular man happens to be headman, and the relation of his grandparents to this man.

The possibility of inheriting is one factor which affects residence. I have described how in Jango's village (Figs. 1 and 2) a man and his wife were living virilocally in the husband's mother's village because he was a potential heir of the headman. As the heir is selected from a range of available candidates, it is not unreasonable to suppose that a man may decide to leave his wife's village and transfer to his sister's village (or that of his mother's brother) in the hope of one day succeeding to the headmanship. Moreover, in a big village, there might be living a group of his sisters, who trace their connexion to the headman through their mother being sister to the headman's mother, as in Kiboko village (Figs. 3 and 4). He may succeed in persuading his sisters to leave their present village and, with these as the residential group, set up a new village with himself as headman. The possibilities of this situation are already apparent in Kiboko village. Indeed, one such group had already broken away to form Pasera village, as I have described above. The break was made in 1949, one year after Kiboko had succeeded. Until the actual appointment of Kiboko, Pasera had a good claim to succeed, but he was passed over, as I have described earlier, because he was " too stupid ". Pasera had lived in three villages, therefore. First, the village in which he was born (Kiboko, when his mother's brother was headman), his first wife's village, and lastly his own village.

Another factor which may affect residence is the division of villages into sections, one superior to the other. Owing to the short time I spent with the Kaonde, I was unable to follow up the full consequences of this division. It appears from the material that I have that membership of the effective generation carries with it certain social prerogatives, viz. the right to use the senior *kiasanza* when public business is being transacted and cases heard, and presumably to take an active part in such transactions. Further, on social occasions, when beer is being drunk, only the members of

the senior section can take part, and, as I have already remarked, men share meals only with males of their own generation and section. However, it is not clear whether exclusion from the *kiasanza* is thereby exclusion from village deliberations and business, although it appears likely. There may be further distinctions. To what extent does the village division affect the distribution of land and the right to call on the services of others for labour assistance, etc.? What conflicts arise between the sections and how are they resolved? Does the effective generation attempt to retain its hold on the headmanship, for example, by appointing a distant relative rather than a man with a closer claim who is not of their own generation? It follows from the principle that seniority is lodged in the headman's generation that a group of mature men might find themselves relegated to junior status in favour of a group of young men of the same generation as a new headman. Does the effective generation prefer to elect a member of their own genealogical generation, however young, rather than a man of their own age of a proximate generation? A number of other interesting consequences of such a dual organization will at once spring to mind.

In the four villages of the *Chowa* clan mentioned already whose headmen claimed to be members of a common lineage, I noted that one of them, Nkanja, was of Kiboko's maternal grandmother's generation, and the other two, Jango and Pasera, of his mother's generation. At the time of Kiboko's succession, Jango's predecessor was still alive; he too was of Kiboko's maternal grandmother's generation. At that time Kiboko and Pasera were both living in Kiboko village. I give the relationship of these four men in Fig. 11.

Did the succession of Kiboko cause Pasera to go off and form his own village? It will be seen at once that Pasera belonged to the junior section during the lifetime of the old headman, and that when Kiboko succeeded there was no change in the relationship of the generations. Pasera was still in the junior section. But when he formed his own village, he automatically became head of the senior section, by virtue of his post as headman. He was joined not only by his sister, but by two of his classificatory brothers; all of these now became members of a senior section.

His membership of a particular section may be a deciding factor in the determination of a man's residence, therefore. When he marries into another village, a man may find that he is in the junior section, for he belongs to the section of his wife. If the headman is his wife's mother's brother, then he will certainly belong to the junior section. If his wife is a sister of the headman, he will belong to the senior section, with the various benefits that such membership entails. On the death of the headman, his position may change, depending on the genealogical seniority of the heir. In his wife's village a Kaonde, like a Bemba husband, finds himself always in

a position of social inferiority, at least in the first few years of marriage. Among the Kaonde this more general inferiority may be further emphasized by his membership of a junior section. He may prefer to move with his wife to a village in which he is entitled to membership of the senior section, and as I have described, there are four other villages open to him, in all of which he can claim kinship. Apart from the matter of succession, the possibility of membership of a senior section may induce him to take up residence

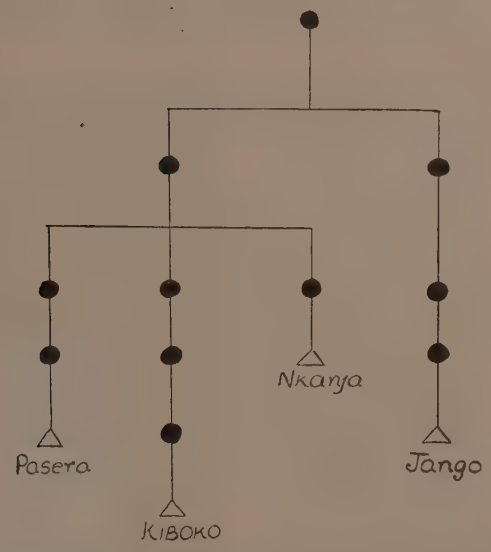

FIG. 11.—RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FOUR HEADMEN OF THE *CHOWA* CLAN.

in one village rather than another. Further, the question of which village he will choose to live in may depend on his age. If a man of senior years finds himself in the junior section, whatever his kinship relationship to the headman, he may well resent being classified as a member of the *mwanza babanyike* (the section of youth) and decide to move to a village where he can take up his place among the seniors. His relationship to the members of any of the villages in which he can claim kinship (*benatata*, *benankambo*), and also his mother's village, are immutably fixed by birth. He

is identified with his grandparents in opposition to his parents. But the seniority of the section of the people with whom he is identified will depend entirely on the chances of death and inheritance, and it is unlikely that in all his villages of kin he will invariably find himself in the same section, be it senior or junior.

I am not suggesting that membership of one section as against another is the cause of the continual moves between villages but only that it may be an important factor in determining in which of the five villages of kin a man may choose to reside. For, whatever the variations in kinship relations within a Kaonde village (and these are considerable, as I have explained), the permanent feature, common to every type, is the dual division by generations. Whatever changes occur in other relationships with the passage of time and the accidents of fortune, the two sections continue to exist and alternate.

In conclusion I would like to summarize the material set out above. First, the Kaonde village is organized round a core of women, commonly uterine sisters, of the same matrilineage as the headman. Second, the village is organized internally on a dual principle in which proximate generations belong to different sections, one senior to the other. The senior section is invariably composed of the members of the headman's generation, whatever his age. Alternate generations are equated as far as membership of the two sections is concerned. On the death of the headman there may be a reversal in the relative seniority of the two sections making up the village, with seniority passing from one generation to another. On the other hand, the relative seniority of the generations may remain the same; all depends on the generation of the heir compared with that of his predecessor. Wide variations in the kinship structure of villages are commonly found, in which there are many different forms of linkage with the headman. But the dual principle does not vary and persists whatever the kinship structure may be. This dual principle determines the actual siting of huts within a village.

I suggest that this duality and transfer of authority may have further ramifications throughout Kaonde society and may affect such aspects of the social organization as rights to the use of land, co-operation, and social distance. It may affect the succession of headman and the creation of new villages. More particularly, I suggest that the duality of village organization may be a factor in determining a man's choice of residence and consequently affect the varying structure of Kaonde villages.

Bemba Village Organization

I have already remarked that the Kaonde are an offshoot of the great Luban tribe which once inhabited the Katanga area of the Congo, east of the Kasai River, in common with the Lamba, Lala, Lunda, Bisa and Bemba. In language, culture and social organiza-

tion all these peoples have many characteristics which demonstrate their affinity. As Mr. Turner has reported the existence of dual division by generation in the villages of the Mwinilunga Lunda, the question arises whether this form of village organization is to be found among these other peoples, and whether it is more widespread than the present literature would suggest.

In view of the close alliance of the Kaonde with the Bemba, a number of points from the published material on the Bemba are worth further notice.

In discussing the form of grouping observed at mealtimes among the Bemba, Dr. Richards writes: "The men's club-houses (*nsaka*) are nothing more than open shelters, roofs supported on uprights, and these are usually built at each end of the village." [1] She also describes one use of the *nsaka*.

> This grouping of the sexes at mealtimes is further subdivided on the basis of age, kinship, and friendship. Nobody eats alone. Each belongs to a set of his contemporaries who regularly share meals together. The grouping by age is not absolute, but is customary and follows the people's inclinations. In a small village it is usual for all the *bakalamba*—"big men"—to eat together at their own *nsaka* or to group themselves in turn on one of their respective verandas. In a larger settlement there may be two or three such groups of old men usually united by close ties of kinship. The young men eat at the village shelter where their food is regularly brought them. It may not be possible for all the young married men of a village to eat round one dish, for the in-law avoidances, still punctiliously observed among the Bemba, prevent a husband from feeding with any of his wife's relatives, real or classificatory. Hence it is customary to find round the village *nsaka* at least two groups—the young men born in the village and the outsiders who have come into the community to marry their sisters or cross-cousins. When the porridge arrives they form into two rings back to back round their own dishes. In larger villages there is a greater choice of possible associates, and personal friendship and geographical propinquity help to fix the choice. Even where the *nsaka* system has been almost abandoned, as it has in modern villages near Kasama, the young men regularly eat in fours and fives, and any intelligent boy or girl in the village will tell you promptly with whom X or Y eats. On a journey with a party of carriers, a European will notice that within a day or two his followers settle down to share their rations in messes of their own which they describe as a *conto*, which can be roughly translated as a place to warm oneself.[2]

This word *conto* has another definition, however. It also means: "a group: *ikaleni mu fyonto mu fyonto*, sit down in groups. *Syn. mu mpuka mu mpuka*." [3] (*Mpuka* is a small group of people.)

A number of points from the above quotations may be noticed:

(i) The *nsaka* is identical in form to the *kiasanza*.

[1] A. I. Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*. Oxford University Press, London (1939), p. 120.

[2] *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[3] *The Bemba-English Dictionary*, the White Fathers, Chilubula (1947), p. 243.

(ii) Some villages have two *nsaka*, " usually built at either end of the village ".

(iii) In larger villages, " geographical propinquity " helps to fix the choice of eating group. Does this " geographical propinquity " coincide with the siting of the two *nsaka* built at either end of the village, and by inference, are the huts built in two sections ?

(iv) " The grouping by age is not absolute, but is customary and follows the people's inclinations." Is the grouping by age " not absolute " and " customary " because the groups of varied age ranges are in fact composed of the members of the same section, assuming for the moment that such sections do in fact exist in Bemba villages ?

(v) " It is usual for the *bakalamba*—' big men '—to eat together at their own *nsaka* " when there is only one *nsaka* in the village. Are these " big men " in fact the members of the senior section, the headman's genealogical contemporaries ?

(vi) Does the *conto* separation depend on generation opposition, and consequently on sectional seniority ?

In her description Dr. Richards was concerned only with grouping at mealtimes, but the grouping is extremely suggestive of the existence of a dual division within the village. The avoidances between brothers-in-law would evidently create a further division within their common section, but this may have been only at mealtimes and certain other occasions.

I was unable to study the in-law avoidances of persons of the same generation among the Kaonde, but in-law avoidance between members of proximate generations appears to be subsumed in the sectional distinctions.

Elsewhere in describing Bemba territorial groupings Dr. Richards writes : " The old and the young men build themselves separate shelters (*nsaka*) in which they eat and spend the day, and the members of each *nsaka* remain close friends throughout life." [1]

[1] A. I. Richards, " The Bemba of Northern Rhodesia ", *Seven Tribes of Central Africa*, ed. E. Colson and M. Gluckman. Oxford University Press, London (1951), p. 172.

THE ROAD TO WORK

A Survey of the Influence of Transport on Migrant Labour in Central Africa

by

DAVID NIDDRIE

THE outstanding feature of the past fifty years in Central and Southern Africa has been the rapid development of mineral resources, accompanied by an extension of railway and road communications from Cape Town to the Belgian Congo. The growth of major industries like copper mining in Northern Rhodesia, coal mining in Southern Rhodesia, goldmining in the Transvaal and in general, a phenomenal expansion of secondary industry, have created within the sub-continent a series of settlement nuclei to which large communities of African male unskilled labour have continuously been drawn since the late nineteenth century.

It is an erroneous assumption on the part of laymen that there exists a bottomless reservoir of unskilled African labour, waiting to be exploited by industrialists and farmers. It is true that for territories like Basutoland, Swaziland, Bechuanaland and Nyasaland, where overpopulation is associated with a complete lack of local industry and mineral wealth, there is only one way of ensuring that money flows into the particular territory: the export of male labour for which today all the growing industrial communities of Africa, south of the Sahara, are competing. There are few annual reports of major industrial and mining companies which do not complain of a shortage of labour.[1] Some way has to be found therefore, of attracting more African labour to these centres. The increasing mobility of those Africans who undertake this kind of work, on the other hand, has had important social effects on their tribal community life, the consequences of which are examined in this journal from time to time.

It was difficult initially to persuade Africans to leave their villages and to come to industrial centres to work for the white man. Whatever processes it is alleged were used to stimulate the movement —various forms of cash taxation, like poll tax and hut tax—it has increased steadily since the discovery of diamonds and the opening

[1] See for instance, the *Report of the Fifty-Eighth Annual General Meeting of Rand Mines Ltd.*, Johannesburg, 15th May 1953, which states that "another problem of far reaching importance to the gold mining industry is the shortage of labour which is seriously restricting the tonnage output at the individual mines, and therefore tending to reduce revenue and to raise working costs".

up of the fields in the latter part of the nineteenth century in South Africa, and each new industry has attracted from all directions a flood of migrant labourers. They travel many hundreds of miles to look for a job. De Briey [1] and Moore [2] are the most recent writers to draw attention to this phenomenon and to treat it comprehensively.

Naturally, this type of migration has had its effects on the structure and behaviour of Africans in primitive tribal areas and villages. There is a considerable literature to be found in anthropological and sociological journals, which, in passing, deals with the problem of the absence of males from the tribal or village community at a time when they are most needed in the fields. Attempts have been made in Nyasaland to determine the effect of isolation on the rate of migration from particular districts and villages, but the results are not conclusive.[3] Intensive investigation, with the use of reliable sampling techniques, is at present being undertaken by research officers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute to test the earlier findings of the late Godfrey Wilson on the urbanization of Africans in the industrial area of Broken Hill,[4] but these new techniques have been mainly applied to the Copperbelt, the greatest concentration of industry in Central Africa. These surveys are trying to find accurate answers to many questions which are disturbing local and central administration in Northern Rhodesia. Do these migrants tend to become more permanently settled in these industrial centres with the passing of years? Are these men becoming, in sociological language, urbanized, stabilized or merely detribalized? How long do migrants spend away from their villages or tribes, and how many times in a man's life can we expect him to return to "town" to work? [5]

It would appear that on the Copperbelt, and indeed in most industrial centres of Southern Africa, there exist small numbers of Africans who can be described as truly "urbanized" who have known nothing but town life, because they were born there, and who would be bewildered by a tribal environment.[6] Round this very important nucleus there is to be found a greater proportion of the industrial workers, who may be classified into a number of categories, determined by their degree of permanence in the town

[1] P. de Briey, "Industrialisation and Social Problems in Central Africa", *Int. Lab. Review*, LXIII (May 1951), pp. 475–506.

[2] Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrialisation and Labour*, O.U.P. (1952).

[3] Margaret Read, "Migrant Labour and its Effects on Tribal Life", *Int. Lab. Review*, XLV, 6 (June 1942), pp. 605–31. See especially pp. 614–20.

[4] Godfrey Wilson, *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalisation in Northern Rhodesia*, Pts. I and II, Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, Nos. 5 and 6, Livingstone (1941).

[5] J. C. Mitchell, "A Note on the Urbanisation of Africans on the Copperbelt", *Human Problems in British Central Africa*, 12 (1951), pp. 20–7.

[6] The existence of these small nuclei has been officially recognized in the Union of South Africa, see *The Report of the Industrial Legislation Commission of Enquiry*, U.G., 62 (1951), pp. 9–14.

or industrial areas. These categories were devised originally by Wilson,[1] and Mitchell has applied them to his social survey of Luanshya.[2] Insufficient information outside these studies has been collected to enable sociologists to assess the proportion of Africans to be found in each category; it is clear that a large part of the labour force is still very mobile, despite the general policy of the Northern Rhodesian copper mining companies who have encouraged permanent African settlement on the Copperbelt,[3] and that many of these men do, in fact, return to their villages and tribes periodically, taking with them concrete and social evidence of their contact with European technology.

In these tribal and village areas, agriculture and hence, food production, is declining, because the men absent themselves either temporarily or permanently. This deterioration has been described by de Briey,[4] and is too well known to require further elaboration.

Thus the main lines of research into the subject of migrant labour in Central Africa are at present confined to three stages in the migrant's life: (*a*) the period during which he is resident in an industrial area; (*b*) the period before he leaves the village or tribe for the first time; (*c*) his spells of temporary residence in the village community, when he either participates actively in the normal economy of village life, or merely regards this period as a " holiday " after a hard season of industrial work. All three stages have been examined by the social anthropologist, economist, sociologist and agricultural scientist. Little has been said, however, about an important phase in the migrant's life: *the journey to and from work*. This has always been part of an African worker's everyday experience, but little accurately determined information is available to those who would like to know more about this aspect.

The problem can be attacked by the examination of several types of evidence. The easiest and simplest sources of information might come from those agencies and organizations whose main business it is to recruit untrained Africans from Reserves and villages, and to get them to the mining areas by making the process as easy as possible. This system, carefully supervised by government decree and international agreement, has long been accepted south of the Sahara, and till recently ensured a steady flow of labour to the mines. The agent and eventually the African's future employer undertake to provide for his welfare and transport from his home to the mine and also his safe return. To accomplish the required quotas, the agent frequently has to seek out his reservoirs of labour

[1] Godfrey Wilson, *ibid.*, p. 42, Table V.
[2] Mitchell, *ibid.*, pp. 23–7, and Table IV.
[3] Sub-economic housing has been provided by Local Government and by the copper mining companies for African workers. Certain gold mining companies in the new Orange Free State goldfields are trying to pursue similar policies. For a review of Northern Rhodesian Housing Policy see *The Times*, 30th September 1953, p. 7.
[4] de Briey, *ibid.*, pp. 492–3.

by supplying transport, in the form of lorries, which carry men from their villages to the nearest railhead, where they can be transported by train to the mine compounds. No map exists which would show these routes, many of which are maintained by the recruiting agencies themselves,[1] but this aspect of recruited labour is discussed in some detail by Schapera, in connexion with his study of the migrant labour force from Bechuanaland,[2] which is recruited mainly for employment on the Witwatersrand. Schapera's analysis, though it lacks full statistical support, reflects the ability of recruiting organizations like the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (W.N.L.A.) and the Native Recruiting Corporation (N.R.C.) to place their own recruits in jobs, and further, to transport them from and to the most northerly and remote villages of Bechuanaland Protectorate. The value of these men to the gold mines is further indicated by the willingness of the agencies concerned to bring their recruits from farther afield by the use of transport aircraft.[3]

In the Union of South Africa most mining labour is recruited, and without prior arrangement of a contract, through the local administration and the recruiting organizations, it becomes almost impossible for Africans to obtain posts on the mines. This however does not present a full picture of migrant labour. If it is made more difficult for the African to obtain work except through the offices of the agencies, then he will find ways of circumventing the restrictions and prohibitions which bar his way. Where national frontiers are real, he will enter illegally, by walking across the border under cover of darkness or at points which are not patrolled. The

[1] A system known as " Ulere " is a lorry service running between Nyasaland and Mtoko, in Southern Rhodesia, across Portuguese territory, run by the Southern Rhodesian Government, to provide free transport for migrant workers *and their families*. Its main purpose is to encourage the Nyasaland labourers to move into the tobacco farming areas east of Salisbury, without the risks and attendant dangers of the long walk across the Zambesi valley. This route is well known, but cannot be classed as a recruiting agency route.

[2] I. Schapera, *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life. A Study of Conditions in the Bechuanaland Protectorate*, O.U.P. (1947). See especially Chapter Three, pp. 73–114.

[3] In this connexion see an extract from the weekly journal *South Africa*, London, 29th August 1953, p. 164, col. 2:

" The South African goldmining industry, through the Transvaal Chamber of Mines and its associated organisation, the Witwatersrand Native Labour Recruiting Organisation, has for some two years been offering air transport to tribal natives seeking employment in the industry from certain territories to the north of the Union. The air service, which is still in an experimental stage, is operated by a charter transport company.

" In April, 1951, the first flight in the service was completed between Lilongwe, in Nyasaland, and Lusaka, in Northern Rhodesia. On January 1st, last year [1952] the southern base of this route was transferred to Francistown, in Bechuanaland. In addition, flights were introduced between Mohembo, at the head of the inland delta of the Okavango River in North Western Bechuanaland, and Francistown. Since the end of August, last year [1952], a schedule of five flights a week to Nyasaland and three flights a week to Mohembo has been maintained."

Government of the Union of South Africa tacitly acknowledges this situation and allows these illegal immigrants to remain in the union for limited periods upon the payment of a small fee,[1] when they are generally employed on farms.

So, though we may have access to this information about Africans recruited by agencies, we will learn little about the other type of migrant, who slips through the fine mesh of recruitment, and prefers to be independent in his movement and in his search for work. He does not wish to be tied to a job and place he has not yet seen. The latter type is found most commonly in Northern Rhodesia. In his brief but pointed review of labour migration in Africa, Burden,[2] a colonial administrator, states: "Despite the excellent arrangements made by recruiting organizations and the considerable benefits which accrue to the worker, a large number of migrants from Central Africa to the Union prefer to proceed independently and choose their own employer." Merle Davis [3] records that as early as 1921 there was a tendency towards this form of independent migrant in Northern Rhodesia, and that, by 1931, the labour recruiting organization had ceased to function; "free" labour, engaged on a monthly basis, became the standard form of employment in that territory. This trend has continued. The Northern Rhodesian Department of Labour and Mines reports that 300 Africans arrive a day, and apply for work at Nchanga mine and that they move on from mine to mine if the latter has no vacancies.[4] This is indeed a considerable labour force on the move, and converging on one centre! We may assume that these men arrive from different points of the compass.[5] If we cannot hold the recruiting organizations responsible for this haphazard entry into industrial areas like the Copperbelt, then *how do these men arrive*?

The answers to this question form the possible basis for an important field of research. We must know more about that period during which the African migrant labourer is on the move.

[1] G. N. Burden, "Labour Migration in Africa", Part I, *Corona*, III (February 1951), p. 57.

[2] G. N. Burden, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[3] Merle Davis, *Modern Industry and the African. (An Enquiry into the Effect of the Copper Mines of Central Africa upon Native Society and Work of Christian Missions)*, Macmillan (1933), pp. 162–3.

[4] Extract from a report of the Department of Labour and Mines, Northern Rhodesia in *The Times*, 2nd September 1953.

[5] Dr. Mitchell, Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, has attempted recently to show that the direction of a labour inflow to the Copperbelt is an important element in determining the composition of a particular mine's labour force. Thus, the Nchanga Mine at Chingola, the first point at which it is possible to seek work, when men come in on a westerly stream, should contain on its staff a high proportion of men coming from the tribes of the Western Province. The next mine Nkana at Kitwe should contain a lower proportion of these same tribes. The Copperbelt network therefore acts as a filter of emigrant labour. See "The Distribution of African Labour by Area of Origin on the Copper Mines of N. Rhodesia", *Human Problems in British Central Africa*, XIV.

He is subjected to many new experiences during his first trek from home and will, through the years that follow, be adjusting himself to this new way of life. Perhaps the best line of investigation would be the examination of routes which these Africans take on the way to work.

A search of the available literature helps us little. A single paper by Philpott, published in this journal,[1] yields valuable information about a well-known labour route from Mongu to Mulobezi, used by the Lozi of Barotseland. This route was surveyed by an officer of the Department of Labour, Northern Rhodesia, in 1941, mainly with a view to remedying some of the social, health and economic problems encountered by migrants. There are probably records of similar routes in the territory, but these have not been published.

The Nyasaland Committee,[2] which investigated the question of migrant labour from the Nyasaland Protectorate, considered the conditions associated with the journey to work to be relevant and worthy of closer investigation. The Committee in its questionnaire to District Officers in Nyasaland[3] tried to obtain reliable information on this subject. Three of the questions asked were:

(i) What are the relative percentages of emigrant labourers who proceed (*a*) on foot; (*b*) by steamer, and/or train and motor?

(ii) What are the relative percentages of emigrant labourers who return (*a*) on foot; (*b*) by steamer, and/or train and motor?

(iii) How do emigrant labourers, proceeding abroad under present conditions, obtain food, shelter and medical attendance *en route*?

Another appendix [4] giving details of invalid repatriates returning from Southern Rhodesia to Nyasaland in 1934, indicates the mode of transport used.

The Journey to Work is discussed in the main body of the Committee's Report,[5] but the methods of investigation do not allow us to place much reliance on the figures quoted to support their findings. In 1935, 90 per cent of Nyasaland labourers going south, walked, as they had not the cash to pay the rail fare. The Committee also drew attention to the development of motor transport as a growing influence; [6] they conclude with the statement that:

> There are no records to indicate what percentage adopt the various ways of going south. We can only estimate that on the outward journey five per cent go by rail, fifteen to twenty per cent by lorry and the remainder walk. On the return journey, about ten per cent travel by rail and twenty-five to thirty per cent by lorry; the remainder walk.

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[1] R. Philpott, "The Mulobezi-Mongu Labour Route", *Human Problems in British Central Africa*, III (June 1945), pp. 50–4.

[2] *Report of the Committee appointed by His Excellency the Governor to Enquire into Emigrant Labour, 1935*, Nyasaland Protectorate, Zomba (1935).

[3] *op. cit.*, Appendix 4, pp. 90–115.

[4] *op. cit.*, pp. 135–8.

[5] *op. cit.*, Chapter IV, pp. 24–5.

[6] *ibid.*, p. 25.

We may from this rough estimate of the state of affairs in Nyasaland, assume that a considerable percentage (without more accurate means of determination we are not prepared to say more than this) walk to work. This bald statement disguises the simple fact that these walks may be from a hundred to fifteen hundred miles in length, depending on the destination of the labourer. Merle Davis [1] and Schapera [2] have also recorded the custom of walking from home to work across great distances

If the migrant has enough money to pay the rail fare his walk will take him to the nearest railhead. Unfortunately, the railway line from Cape Town to the Copperbelt was not built primarily for the use of the indigenous African population, and therefore does not pass through any regions where the latter is concentrated. The reasons are not far to seek. After crossing the Cape Province the line skirts the eastern edge of Bechuanaland for political and historical reasons,[3] and thereafter winds its way along the central watershed of the Rhodesian plateau, to avoid the building of expensive bridges and the diseases of the valley lowlands. Thus the African still has to travel great distances before he reaches railhead. Areas like Barotseland were until very recently only accessible by river barge services on the Zambesi.[4] Apparently, the opening up of the areas away from the "railway belt" has had to await the development of motor transport and all-weather roads in the Rhodesias. The motor lorry [5] and bus today provide the necessary auxiliary services to the railway line. In Southern Rhodesia they are provided by the Motor Transport Section of the nationalized Rhodesia Railways. In Northern Rhodesia, however, the development of similar road transport services has been the responsibility of private enterprise, and may remain so for many years.

These services from railhead represent one of the most important sociological features of African life today, for the speed with which the African has adopted the bus and the lorry as a means of transport, and of getting his heavy purchases back to the village, is reflected in the phenomenal rise in the number of African passengers carried in the past ten years. This is particularly so in the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, where these feeder services are planned in such a way that they do not compete with the national railway system, but rather to pierce hitherto inaccessible regions,

[1] Merle Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 156. [2] Schapera, *op. cit.*, pp. 73–5.

[3] Lord Hailey, *An African Survey*, 2nd ed., O.U.P. (1945), pp. 1566–7.

[4] This would account for the general north–south direction of the Lozi labour route which Philpott discussed. The migrants walk from Mongu to Mulobezi, the nearest railhead, where they can take the train to Southern Rhodesian industrial centres. See Philpott, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[5] Barnes in his essay on the Fort Jameson Ngoni in Colson and Gluckman: *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*, O.U.P. (1951), refers on pp. 244–5 to the influence of the lorry on these people who have now found an important means of crossing "a sea of other tribes" in order to reach railhead. As he says: "It is these lorry routes which now provide the links with the outside world, and along which goods and people travel. . . ."

which lack a railway line. Merle Davis noted this trend as early as 1933.[1]

The rapid progress of road transport in Central Africa since 1918 has been due mainly to early army and other pioneering experiments, whereby tracks were hammered through the bush by tractors, and bulk goods and capital equipment hauled along them. Many of these tracks have since become trunk roads through the Territory. A brief history of the development of road transport in Northern Rhodesia, in a recent Report,[2] confirms the importance of this early work. This Report also contains statistics of the numbers of motor vehicle operators carrying passengers and goods in the territory,[3] while a map shows the extent to which motor services supplement, and in places compete with, the railway system. Unfortunately, no reliable records of the number of passengers carried by these motor transport companies are available, and therefore we have no indication of their place in the economy of the Territory, and of the part they play in bringing Africans to the Copperbelt. Furthermore, it is impossible to obtain a full picture of the routes

[1] Merle Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 289: "The mines have given to thousands of Natives their first experience of rapid transportation. Districts situated two, three or four weeks walk apart can now be reached by auto lorry in as many days."

[2] *Report of the Motor Transport Commission, 1951, Northern Rhodesia,* Chapter 11, pp. 12–20.

[3] *op. cit.*, Chapter IV, p. 18. The following table shows the importance of the "single vehicle" operator in transport economy of Northern Rhodesia:

No. of Operators	*No. of Vehicles owned by Each*	*Total No. of Vehicles in each Category*		
		Passenger	*Goods*	*Dual Purpose*
143	1	18	104	21
29	2	4	50	4
14	3	8	31	3
6	4	1	23	—
5	5	6	19	—
3	6	6	12	—
6	7	—	35	7
2	8	—	16	—
2	9	—	9	9
2	10	—	20	—
2	11	—	22	—
1	13	—	13	—
1	18	—	18	—
1	142	53	61	28
Totals 217	—	96	433	72

Thus, "out of a total of 217 permit holders no less than 143 or 65·9 per cent operate one vehicle only, 29 operate 2 vehicles, 14 operate 3 vehicles and 6 operate 4 vehicles. 88·4 per cent of all permit holders operate 4 vehicles or less".

operated by the small operators, whose schedules would be less rigid than the larger companies, which may have mail contracts to maintain.[1] There is scope here for an intensive field investigation of the numbers of African passengers carried by road transport to the Copperbelt and other industrial areas in the territory, and also of the types of goods which they carry away from the latter to their villages. We should not forget, of course, that many who can afford the bus trip home, may still have considerable distances to walk before they reach their villages, and further, that when the time comes for them to go back to work, they may not have been able to keep enough money to pay the bus fare and so will have to resort to walking the whole way.

The social problems associated with the development of motor transport services are not confined to Africa. They are to be met in any country today where suitable roads exist. In North America and Europe the impact has been particularly powerful. For instance, the whole pattern of transport services has been modified in Great Britain by the growth of urban, rural and cross-country bus services, which are cheaper than railways for the carriage of all commodities except the heavy bulk materials of primary industries. Planners have discovered a new pattern of shopping behaviour particularly among rural communities, because the latter, generally being poorly served by the railways, have been limited to shopping within a small radius of their hamlets, villages or market centres, with only an occasional major expedition to the nearest large town. The bus has destroyed this rural inaccessibility, and has brought to the country folk the opportunity of frequent visits to distant towns and large shopping centres. It is possible that this new freedom has reduced the current trend towards rural depopulation. Industrial concerns are even prepared to provide free bus transport in order to bring rural workers to the factory door. These changing patterns have created many new problems, the nature of which has been examined by geographers and town and country planners. Green's classical work on the function of bus services in the British

[1] The *Report of the Motor Transport Commission, op. cit.*, contains some statements which may help to illuminate this situation:

p. 3: "It is not surprising that the economics of transport generally and particularly the economics of the modern operation of road transport should be so little understood in a country so new as Northern Rhodesia, but the comparative absence of informed opinion on the general subject, and the lack of reliable statistics as to the volume of traffic carried, as to the costs of operation, and as to revenue therefrom have thrown us back very largely on our own resources of experience and deduction. . . ."

And later, p. 14: "Unfortunately, organised traffic censuses have not been made until now and it is impossible to provide factual evidence on this point. . . . No study has yet been made locally on the effect of road improvement on traffic density."

And further, on p. 24: "Passenger transport seems to be almost entirely confined to the carriage of Africans, the number of Europeans who travel by bus being negligible."

Isles,[1] has thrown new light on the changing rank and importance of towns. Green uses the term *urban hinterland* to define an area which comes mainly within the transport web of a specific town or city, and shows how and to what extent it is *drained* by bus services much in the manner of a river catchment area; *transport divides* or *watersheds* separate one hinterland from another. They may be sharp crestlines or ill-defined plateaux. Such concepts are useful when we apply similar analytical processes to transport problems in Africa. There are certain nuclei of industrial activity each of which drains a particular *labour hinterland* and in so doing creates a *labour divide*. Do these exist in Central and Southern Africa? Can Government drain these hinterlands more effectively by providing more closely integrated road transport systems on new and better roads? Such labour divides may well exist. If we examine maps which purport to show migrant labour routes in Africa we see evidence of north- and south-flowing streams of labour whose divide has no physical justification.[2] What factors then, influence the direction of the labourer's journey? This is a question which may well be answered on the bus routes or walking tracks!

Another important instrument of social change in Africa is the bicycle. This was first recognized by Merle Davis as early as 1933, when he wrote:

> A careful native is able to save enough from a year's wages to ride home on his own bicycle, in one-fourth the time it took him to walk to the mine . . . it has put isolated villages into communication with each other, has stimulated visiting and the spread of news and ideas, and is breaking down provincialism and tribal lines. The bicycle is a heavily worked vehicle in Rhodesia, the wife or children frequently clinging fore and aft of the rider.[3]

Schapera also records that "in recent years the bicycle has also been widely adopted as a means of travel to and from the Transvaal".[4]

Clearly the bicycle has become an important mode of transport for African migrant workers, and cannot be disregarded in any full examination of the journey to work.

There is another way in which transport will play an increasingly important role in the future. The problem of supplying these large industrial African communities with food, which they cannot now

[1] Green, F. H. W., "Urban Hinterlands in England and Wales: an Analysis of Bus Services", *Geog. Journ.*, 116 (1950), pp. 64–88.

[2] See, for example, evidence of such a divide in Barotseland in Alan G. Ogilvie, "Co-operative Research in Geography; with an African Example", *Scottish Geog. Mag.*, L, 6 (1934), p. 365, Fig. 4.

For other maps see also R. Harrison Church, *Modern Colonisation*, Hutchinson (1951), p. 52, Fig. 1; Dudley L. Stamp, *Africa: A Study in Tropical Development*, Wiley (1953), p. 519.

[3] Merle Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

[4] Schapera, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

grow for themselves, should be examined. Privately owned motor transport services have brought about a significant development in fish trade between the southern shores of Lake Tanganyika and the Copperbelt in recent years.[1] Similarly, there are many other items of the African diet which have to be brought in from outlying districts. Merle Davis demonstrated in 1933 [2] that the bicycle was an important means of transporting certain kinds of food to these communities. As a result of this activity, can we say that a new pattern of trading is emerging, together with an *entrepeneur* class of African whose main economic function is to grow food and transport it to the " towns " for sale to the industrial population? This too, is a field worth investigating.

The unresolved problems then, are many. They might best be expressed in terms of accessibility to a means of transport. Such transport services are provided primarily by bus and lorry in Northern Rhodesia, secondarily by train, with a significant proportion of the migrant labour force getting to their place of work by walking.

It should be the purpose of any research project into this subject to determine the proportions of the total labour force using each of these modes of travel. These could be obtained by a series of field studies under the following headings:

(*a*) a sample survey of intending passengers at all railhead stations in the Territory (the intermediate destinations of many migrant walkers and cyclists), and of bus passengers from the feeder services to railhead.

(*b*) Mapping and surveying of all known bus and lorry routes, scheduled or otherwise, which are used for bringing migrants directly into the industrial areas from a point near their homes, or from railhead.

(*c*) Exploration and mapping of the main walking labour routes in the Territory and a sample survey of those who use them.[3]

(*d*) An examination of the peri-urban and long-distance transport

[1] *Colonial Reports: Northern Rhodesia, 1952*, London, H.M.S.O. (1953), pp. 31–2.

[2] Merle Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 289:

" Trade is being stimulated by the bicycle. It is placing the fish of inland rivers and vegetables, ground nuts and other light produce within reach of the markets on the railway zone and Copperbelt. Within a radius of two hundred miles of the mines we repeatedly met lines of bicycles bringing in produce in large wickerwork baskets carried in front of and behind the saddle."

[3] These surveys would be supplemented by questionnaires which would help to determine many of the points which have been raised in this article: (i) the effect of increased mobility and accessibility on the African migrants, e.g. Does the knowledge that the bus enables them to reach their home villages within a few days, reduce the urge to remain in the town and to become " urbanized "? (ii) the changes in the pattern of buying among Africans who know that they can carry heavier loads to a point or terminus which lies very close to their villages; (iii) the motives which determine the direction in which migrant workers set out to look for work.

services which supply food to the African communities in the town.

There are already strong indications that the bus services are transporting a very high percentage of labourers to the Copperbelt,[1] and that the line of research indicated under heading (*b*) should receive priority. It should go a long way towards extending our knowledge of the influence of transport on Central African life today.

[1] Some preliminary findings of the Rhodes-Livingstone Social Survey of the Copperbelt, kindly made available to the writer by the Director, show that out of a total labour force of 549 males at two mines, Chingola and Mufulira, 338 came to the Copperbelt by bus. The following table gives details of the modes of transport used by these men in getting from their homes to work:

MODE OF TRANSPORT OF AFRICAN MALES FROM PLACE OF ORIGIN TO (*a*) CHINGOLA AND (*b*) MUFULIRA

Place of Origin	*Bus*		*Train*		*Foot*		*Train and Foot*		*Bus and Foot*		*Bus and Train*		*Bus, Train and Foot*		TOTAL	
	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*a*)	(*b*)
Barotse Prov.	—	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	4	2
Central Prov.	2	7	1	7	4	5	—	2	—	3	—	—	—	—	7	24
Eastern Prov.	12	9	—	12	3	1	—	14	—	—	3	—	—	—	18	36
Northern Prov.	33	71	—	1	15	12	—	2	3	1	2	—	—	—	53	87
Southern Prov.	—	—	1	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	6
N.-Western Pr.	7	21	—	—	13	4	—	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	24	25
Luapula . .	64	45	—	—	20	9	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	84	58
Per Copperbelt	4	12	2	2	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	15
Nyasaland .	4	1	3	12	2	—	—	5	2	—	—	—	1	—	12	18
Belgian . .	—	1	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	3
Mozambique .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Angola .	—	3	—	—	1	1	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	3	6
Tanganyika .	5	32	—	1	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	34
Elsewhere . .	—	4	—	3	—	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	11
Total each mine	131	207	8	44	65	38	0	24	10	12	9	0	1	0	224	325
Percentage each mine . .	58·5	63·7	3·6	13·5	29	11·7	0	7·4	4·5	3·7	4·0	0	0·4	0	100	100

BOOK REVIEWS

Good Company: A Study of Nyakyusa Age-Villages. By MONICA WILSON. London: Oxford University Press for International African Institute, 1951. Pp. 279, plates, map. Price 28*s*.

THE division of villages into sections on the basis of age has been reported from several Central African peoples: the Lele of the Belgian Congo, the Western Lunda and Kaonde of Northern Rhodesia all provide examples of such a division. There are probably many more. From the accounts of these peoples it appears that proximate generations build separately and that alternate generations build together. But both sections form part of a common village and acknowledge the rule of one headman. This book describes the Nyakyusa system of age-villages, a system unique in Africa, so far as is known. In Nyakyusa age-villages contemporaries live together permanently, each generation building its own separate villages and supplying its own headmen. Professor Wilson has made an admirable addition to the existing body of distinguished work on Nyakyusa society by herself and Godfrey Wilson by publishing this full account of Nyakyusa age-villages.

The Nyakyusa are a cattle-keeping people who practise a form of fixed cultivation, marked by a method of green manuring, rotation of crops, and periodic fallows. In this they differ little from some of their neighbours, except that their country is unusually fertile, having excellent soil and an annual rainfall of over 100 inches. The result is that the land supports a population of over eighty persons to the square mile, and since the earliest European travellers went there, all visitors have commented on the quantities of food available in Nyakyusa country.

The author examines the genesis and organization of a Nyakyusa age-village and then proceeds to a description and analysis of various forms of co-operation and social control. She deals particularly with the values that permeate Nyakyusa village life. The mystical sanctions that underlie and cement social relations are given in considerable detail, together with witchcraft practices and their disruptive effects. Finally she discusses the theoretical problems raised by the peculiarities of Nyakyusa social organization.

What are the unique elements in Nyakyusa age-village organization? Groups of male contemporaries living together in temporary villages or club-houses are commonly to be found in African societies, but these groups disappear when their members are married. They are then absorbed into the ordinary kinship village, whatever its particular form. All of these groups of contemporaries are therefore groups of bachelors. The uniqueness of Nyakyusa

age-villages lies in the fact that their members are married and form permanent units.

The age-village is therefore contrasted with the kinship village, considered to be typical of Central African societies. In the kinship village the members trace some kinship link with the headman. These villages are known by the name of the headman and these names persist in time, through successive generations. The age-village of the Nyakyusa is not primarily composed of kin, but of contemporaries, who may or may not be related, it does not persist through successive generations, and its members are not concerned to trace kinship ties with the headman.

However, the distinction between these two types of village may not be so absolute as at first appears. The genesis of the age-village lies in the group of village boys who co-operate in herding their fathers' beasts. When these boys reach the age of eleven or thereabouts, they begin to build huts to one side of their fathers' village, and from then on develop into an age-village. Brothers may be members of an age-village, but not necessarily, for when the founding members reach the age of sixteen to eighteen they refuse admittance to younger boys of their fathers' village. These excluded boys are therefore obliged to seek admittance to an age-village of their contemporaries attached to some nearby village. Thus brothers and half-brothers may belong to different age-villages. When they join an age-village, the group of contemporaries finish with the task of herding, which now passes to their juniors, and assume the adult task of hoeing the fields, which they will continue for the rest of their lives. Thus the conflict of interest between the generation of the age-village and that of their fathers is already foreshadowed. The two generations work together, but on the land of the fathers. The members of the new age-village are not given land of their own to hoe and cultivate.

Professor Wilson does not give us an example of the kinship relationships between the members of an age-village, but if one considers the system of marriage in Nyakyusa society, it appears that many of the contemporaries in an age-village must be kin, although in this particular study (which is one of a series) she has preferred not to emphasize this point. Nyakyusa marriage is established by the exchange of cattle, and a son must work in his father's gardens for many years before he is given sufficient cattle to marry with. A Nyakyusa man does not expect to marry before the age of twenty-five. Thus the father's generation has control over the land and owns the cattle, and as one might expect, most polygynists are over forty-five years of age and there is a considerable discrepancy between the ages of husbands and wives. Further, as women are inherited on the death of the husband, first by the husband's brothers and afterwards by his sons, it appears that Nyakyusa women move from village to village much more frequently than men, although we are told that men also move. The

kinship ties within the age-village must be of some significance, otherwise conflict between the two sets of loyalties, to a kinship group and to an age-village, would be certain to arise. But Professor Wilson states that she has no evidence of such conflicts.

The most severe conflict of interests in Nyakyusa society appears to be between successive generations. Land, cattle, wives, authority: all these are monopolized by the fathers' generation. The sons of chiefs have no place of authority in their father's chiefdom; they cannot even become headmen.

Age-villages are further associated with the Nyakyusa practice of dividing a chief's territory between two of his sons during his lifetime. A special "coming out" ceremony to instal the two new chiefs is held every thirty years. This ceremony marks the voluntary relinquishment of power by the chief's generation in favour of his sons' generation.

Such a bisecting system obviously demands a constant expansion of the whole territory available for division, if the chiefdoms are not to become unreasonably minute, and indeed we are told that it was usual for the two young chiefs to rule over an area greater than their father's, and with a larger population. Apparently, while this system has been in force, the Nyakyusa and Ngonde (whose chiefs trace descent from common ancestors) have been extending their territory. Their own traditions affirm that they found their present territory sparsely populated and established their rule over the few indigenous peoples they encountered. By 1938, when the field research embodied in this book was completed, the Nyakyusa had over 100 chieftaincies, with from 100 to 3,000 adult male subjects in each.

The "coming out" ceremony orders this process of expansion and bisection. Formerly a significant part of this ceremony was a cattle-raid on the herds of neighbours, together with the seizing by force of two girls for each of the new chiefs. These girls were to be the great wives and their eldest sons succeeded, even though the new chiefs were already married before this ceremony. As we know that the area held by the Nyakyusa was constantly expanding, it is more than likely that land too was seized. Thus the magical treatment of the young chiefs and their headmen by the rulers of their father's generation (who, incidentally, retain their ritual and legal authority after the "coming out") was supposed to "make them impressive" and to attract people to them. Further, they were each given a magic spear "to fight battles with". Altogether, this ceremony may be seen as a ritual blessing and preparation for war of the younger by the ruling generation, and the endowment of the young chiefs and their headmen with authority to rule over such territories as they can manage to conquer.

This is a stimulating book, full of material for discussion. It is distinguished by its wealth of comparative material, which the author uses most adroitly, drawing on her wide experience of

African peoples. She writes, as always, a lucid and precise English, only too rare in anthropological literature, and a pleasure to read.

W. WATSON.

Relational Patterns of Kampala, Uganda. By EDWIN S. MUNGER. The University of Chicago Department of Geography Research Paper, No. 21. Chicago, Illinois. September 1951. Pp. xi + 165.

DR. MUNGER was the first American scholar to come to a British colony on a Fulbright Research Grant. Many others have since followed him, particularly to East Africa (though none yet to British Central Africa), but it is significant that the first Fulbright Scholar should have chosen to make a study of an urban area. It has become commonplace in urban sociology that new ideas start in towns and spread to their surroundings and that towns therefore are the origins of most social changes. Towns in Africa are no exception to this rule for it is in towns that the more articulate congregate. It is there that they are able, in conjunction with their fellow-souls, to formulate the aspirations of Africans, urban and rural, and to create the organizations to further them. Yet, in spite of the increasing significance of urban areas in Africa, the amount of sociological research devoted to them is out of all proportion to that devoted to their more amenable and more amiable country cousins. Dr. Munger's study of Kampala, therefore, is a welcome essay in this field.

Dr. Munger is a geographer. Non-geographers will naturally wish to examine the set of concepts with which geographers, if Dr. Munger is typical of his kind, tackle the task in hand. Dr. Munger writes: "The aim of this study is an understanding of the town of Kampala through the examination of its functions and its relationships with the world outside its urban areas." "It is not an enumeration of jigsaw bits of fact that is sought, but the completion of a total picture that will reveal broad relational patterns" (p. 3). These relational patterns apparently are woven from "physical, economic, and cultural facts and ideas" (p. 3). Later Dr. Munger writes: "The scope of the study is limited to the outgoing relationships of Kampala." He defends this approach by pointing out that the impact of the Western world has been studied in many African societies and in many localities but that "in future the impact of the West on a small village in Dahomey or Angola or Uganda (through missionaries and explorers, for instance) is going to be less direct from abroad and more and more from abroad to a center in Africa which acts as a relay station to the rural countryside" (p. 4). He points out that "ideas permeating Swaziland or Basutoland are very definitely distilled from South African reaction (both White and educated African) to the outside world" (p. 4). He argues that "the effects of a principal town

on its region are an indirect reflection of influences from the outside on the town itself. Television, radio, and widely read newspapers can catapult ideas into the rural parts of a region without necessarily passing through urban centers. For the case in hand, in the absence of such mass media, world impact on rural areas in Uganda is channeled through Kampala" (pp. 4–5).

How does Dr. Munger go about the task he has set himself? Briefly by travel, interviews, observation and reading. He spent nine months in East Africa, half of which was spent at Kampala and the other half "on reconnaisance along and across the various border areas in countries neighbouring Uganda" (p. 6). The main source of information was the interview "carried on with responsible people". He found that "languages did not prove a barrier" (p. 6), but that a working knowledge of Swahili combined with English, "allowed reasonable freedom of movement and enquiry in almost all regions" (p. 6). Dr. Munger found that printed sources, though there is apparently no lack of them, were not of much use, though in fact he drew heavily on many official reports.

Dr. Munger presents his material in four chapters. The first deals with a description of Kampala itself. A good deal of this chapter is devoted to an attempt to define what in fact Kampala is. This is not easy since the urban area varies according to whether it is measured, as Dr. Munger attempts; by the area of municipal control, by malaria control, by non-African health control, by the hand delivery of telegrams, or by the supply of electricity. Dr. Munger also tried to delimit the area of Kampala by social criteria which turn out to be a study of the areas served by various religious denominations and the distance beyond which members of the Kampala Club (a recreational club for Europeans) are considered country members (Fig. 11, p. 30).

After discussing the geographical confines of Kampala in terms of varying criteria, Dr. Munger develops his main thesis by looking at Kampala in relation first to its immediate hinterland within the territory of Uganda, and second within British East Africa, and finally within Africa and the rest of the world.

He opens Chapter II with a discussion of how Kampala is related both to political areas, and to non-political areas, within the Protectorate. Kampala is situated in Mengo, a subdistrict of Buganda district. The significant relationship between Kampala and Mengo appears to be food control, and Kampala is related to Buganda as a whole, mainly because it is the site of the traditional headquarters of the indigenous Buganda ruler—the *Kabaka*.

Dr. Munger found that the non-political areas which have some relationship to Kampala are not easy to define. He isolated them in terms of recreation, transport, banking and religion. "Kampala", he says, "is a recreational center" (p. 63) and goes on to describe how people come from great distances to attend cinema shows. After dismissing transport in a paragraph, Dr. Munger

then goes on to discuss banking, initially in terms of the *chiti* system whereby Europeans obtain goods and cash from local storekeepers, on a signed note and later settle their debts with a cheque. Then he discusses the significance of cotton as a cash crop for Africans and the way in which the African growers spend their proceeds from the sale of their cotton in the Indian trading stores. He describes how money frequently circulates in rural areas without coming into the banks at all. The relation of Kampala to all this is that the banks, into which surplus cash eventually gravitates, are situated in Kampala.

Social anthropologists will be interested in the " local semi-religious influences " plotted on a map depicting Kampala as a religious centre. There are " various African semi-religious associations and somewhat hazy groupings around such cores of influence as would be called ' medicine men ', ' witch doctors ', ' juju ' and the like in popular terminology " (p. 73).

Kampala's relations with the Protectorate as a whole are described in terms of the police administration, posts-telephone-telegraphs administration, the Central Registration Bureau for returned soldiers from World War II, and the meeting of government officials in Kampala during civil disturbances.

On page 76 we read that " Four important social relationships between Kampala and the Protectorates are (1) flow of ideas, (2) recreation, (3) religion, and (4) education," which statement will no doubt send sociologists scurrying to their textbooks to check their understanding of the concept of " social relationships ".

By " flow of ideas " is meant the dissemination of " ideas, news and gossip from Kampala to Uganda " (p. 78). Dr. Munger devotes some space to describing the way in which news from Kampala is conveyed by word of mouth by bus-drivers, bicyclists, and other travellers to the outer areas. He associates the significance of Kampala as a news source with the fact that it contains the headquarters of the Ganda people.

Kampala is related to the Protectorate in that cricket matches between Uganda and Kenya are played there, which Dr. Munger relates to the sparse distribution of skilled sportsmen.

Kampala's relationships to the Protectorate in the religious field seem to be that the Bishop of Uganda of the Native Anglican Church has his seat in Kampala.

" Educational relationships between Kampala and Uganda include control of mission education, a commercial college, Makerere College, concentration of leading secondary schools, non-African primary education and meetings of special education groups " (p. 83).

The rest of Chapter II is devoted to the discussion of economic relationships of Kampala with the Protectorate. Dr. Munger discusses this first in general terms, in which he considers mainly the distribution of controlled goods ; and secondly in terms of the

sales by one trading company of, in particular, bicycles, tyres, and motor-car spare parts, and the sales distribution of selected automobiles by two Kampala firms.

In Chapter III Dr. Munger considers the relationship of Kampala within East Africa. He does this under four headings—" General ", " Economic ", " Social " and " Political ". A good deal of the economic section handles transportation among the three East African Territories. Under the rubric " social " is included a page describing the local organization of the Roman Catholic Church. The succeeding ten pages contain a discussion of Makerere College, Makerere as a Research Institution, a selection of views on whether Asian students should be admitted to Makerere, and lastly a list of the courses open to Asian and European parents in East Africa who wish to send their children to a university. In the political section, after some comments on the forms of co-operation in the three territories, the discussion centres on East African Federation during which the topic of Central African Federation is raised.

In Chapter IV Dr. Munger comes to consider Kampala's relationships outside East Africa. In the first part of the chapter he considers the political relationships of Uganda with the Belgian Congo, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Ethiopa and Northern Rhodesia. The " political " section of this chapter opens with the sentence: " Kampala's intra-African relations at the political level are slight " (p. 135), and the following page and a half lists a number of these " slight relations ". Under the rubric " social " in this chapter are treated the membership of the Uganda society and the Boy Scouts' Jamboree held in 1947. In the religious section there is a short description of the portion of the Mbuga enclave which by an historical accident is an Anglican area inside the Belgian Congo, and a description of the Muslim religious activities in East, Central and South Africa in which " Kampala has an occasional, tenuous, but official role " (p. 141). There follows in the economic section of this chapter an interesting short account of the labour movement between Ruanda-Urundi and the Mengo District in Uganda.

The book ends with a page which summarizes the main points of the book and an extensive bibliography. There is no index, but the full table of contents provides a good substitute.

Dr. Munger writes in his Introduction: " Some methodological concepts and conclusions in this relational study may have value for urban and political studies generally; but the monograph is frankly exploratory " (p. 5). The reviewer's task, therefore, is to assess whether in his opinion the exploration has given rise to new findings and to decide whether the " methodological concepts and conclusions " are in fact likely to be of some value in social studies.

This reviewer is inclined to be cautious. Dr. Munger sets out to discuss, primarily, the " out-going relations " of Kampala. But throughout the book this objective appears to become submerged from time to time in topics which do not seem to be directly related

to the problem on hand. This is possibly because the concept of " out-going relation " is given such a flexible definition that virtually anything can be subsumed under it. Thus the movement of labour into Kampala is described as an " out-going relation " because it attracts the labour in. Exports and imports, immigration and presumably emigration, and transport in and out, are all handled as " out-going relations ".

Kampala is a town. In pragmatic terms this means that many people are living and working in close proximity to each other. Now this phenomenon may be examined in many different ways, but whichever we use, we must possess some criterion against which we may measure the significance of the facts we are handling. We must do this in order to provide some method of selecting facts and arranging them in some logically coherent system. I cannot say that Dr. Munger's scheme has achieved this. The deficiency shows up in the first chapter when Kampala's boundaries elude clear definition. And the reason appears to lie in what, in the reviewer's opinion, is the Achilles heel of the whole book—the amorphous use of the terms " relations ", " relationship " and " relational ". A hint of this confusion I have referred to in connexion with " out-going relations ". When we say that one phenomenon bears a relationship to another we mean that there is some significant connexion between them. The significance of the connexion must be seen against the purposes the observer has in mind. But when a relationship appears to exist by reason of the remotest connexion, as seemingly in the arguments of this book, facts of such disparate significance in describing social phenomena are brought under the same heading that the social scientist is likely to be a little bewildered.

The difficulties of this method of approach show themselves most clearly in the last two chapters, where discussion centres on the economic and political relationships of Uganda to the other two East African Territories. Here the significance of Kampala, as a town in itself, is clearly marginal. Though much of the discussion is interesting enough, the reader feels that Dr. Munger, like himself, has occasionally felt : " What has all this to do with Kampala ? " As if in answer there appears a sentence in which *some* reference is made to Kampala. When the relationships of Kampala with Northern Rhodesia are discussed the opening sentence reads : " Northern Rhodesia is not a near neighbour of Kampala, but it has in common with Uganda the fact that both are British Territories in East-Central Africa where African interests are paramount " (p. 135). It appears that the direct connexion between the town Kampala and Northern Rhodesia is that there are two Northern Rhodesian students at Makerere, and that they are there because of the difference in Native Policies in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Uganda.

Dr. Munger, in his Introduction, writes : " The most productive

study of peoples, countries, or regions acknowledges political boundaries where they have real significance and disregards them when they cease to have more than nominal effect" (p. 2). He has treated his study of Kampala as a series of hinterlands: Kampala itself, its surrounding districts, Uganda, the East African Territories and finally countries outside East Africa. This essentially "geographical" scheme has led to a curious fragmentation of topics. The cotton crop, for example, is of considerable significance for Uganda as a whole and Kampala is the centre which handles the cotton trade. A coherent account of the significance of the cotton trade in Kampala might have considered the commercial arrangements in Kampala for handling the trade, the banks, exporting facilities and the transport resources for bringing the crop into Kampala. Some account of the production of cotton including a discussion of the labour problem and capital investment by farmers could well be relevant to the discussion here. These points, I think, could have been handled together with an account of other enterprises, in a description of Kampala as the commercial centre of Uganda. As it is now, because Kampala banks serve an area within Uganda as a whole, the financial aspects of the cotton trade are described in Chapter II, "Relationships within Uganda". Because the crop goes mainly to India, which is in the outermost "hinterland", the export of cotton is discussed in Chapter IV, "Relationships outside East Africa". Elsewhere in the same chapter Dr. Munger is forced by his conceptual scheme to discuss the labour migration to the cotton farms. This is because Ruanda-Urundi, being under Belgian jurisdiction, falls in the outermost hinterland, though in fact it is closer physically and economically to Uganda than say, Kenya.

Dr. Munger is driven into a similar difficulty when he discusses the origin of patients in Mulago Hospital in Kampala. He finds that a good proportion comes from Ruanda-Urundi. Because an international boundary falls between Ruanda-Urundi and Kampala, Dr. Munger must discuss the topic in his last chapter. This is in spite of the fact that the distribution map in Fig. 56 shows that most patients in the hospital come from areas near Kampala—areas described in Chapters II and III.

In fact Dr. Munger is hoist with his own petard. He has clearly failed to "disregard political boundaries when they ceased to have more than nominal effect". I would argue that Dr. Munger's essentially "geographical" frame of reference and his loose, generalized use of the concept of "relationship" has led him to just that "enumeration of jigsaw bits of fact" that he sought to avoid.

Social scientists are also likely to be critical of both his methods of fieldwork and his presentation of material. Dr. Munger has apparently made good use of the interview, but his disregard for ordinary sampling procedures detracts much value from his positive contributions. For example, the very interesting map (Fig. 20) in

which he plots the homes of African clerks would have been much more interesting and valuable if he had drawn a random sample and if necessary shown how the residential patterns of occupational classes differed. It would have been a better illustration of the demographic delimitation of Kampala. Clerks are hardly representative of the whole urban population.

One of the canons of science is that observations should be repeatable. This means that the methods used in making the observations should be clearly and adequately recorded. A difficulty arises in connexion with the deductions drawn from the distribution of origins of patients at Mulago Hospital. Dr. Munger argues here that : " Africans are sometimes attracted across colonial boundaries by differing social services as well as by increased economic opportunity " (p. 143). Dr. Munger observes the relationship between the origin of hospital patients and the labour routes, but appears to ignore the possibility that patients may have been admitted to hospital only after they had arrived in Uganda and had perhaps been working there for some time. In other words, can we assume that " Uganda exerts a strong magnetic pull by its good and inexpensive social services " (p. 143)—the only one mentioned is Mulago Hospital—unless we are told that the motive for coming to Uganda was to come to hospital ? Do proportions of patients in hospital not reflect the composition of the population in the near vicinity of Kampala ?

The reader cannot but be impressed by the fine photographs and beautifully drawn maps. I consider, however, that maps and charts are only complements of, and not substitutes for, statistical tables. It is true that a chart or a map tells a story quickly and impressively, but much is lost at the same time. If a table showing the numbers of patients in Mulago Hospital against their origin were presented, the proportions could be checked against the origin of the normal population in the near vicinity of Kampala. Thus the hypothesis that the hospital had in fact attracted patients from Ruanda-Urundi could be verified. As it is, though the " spot distribution " tells a story impressively, we are not sure what story is being told. Here some details on what question the patients were asked, and in particular some details on how long they had been in Uganda before coming to hospital, would be very useful.

Dr. Munger has, as he says, been able to " collect and present original data " (p. 2). The residential distribution of clerks, the diagrams of land use in Kampala, the data on cinema attendance, the sales distribution of the business houses in Kampala, are all new for African urban studies and his lead will no doubt be taken up by subsequent investigators. To this extent this exploratory study has been successful—it has indicated some additional fields of enquiry for the student of African towns. But the reviewer cannot agree that the methodological concepts and the conclusions are acceptable—at least not to the social scientist.

J. C. MITCHELL.

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